

IN THESE TIMES



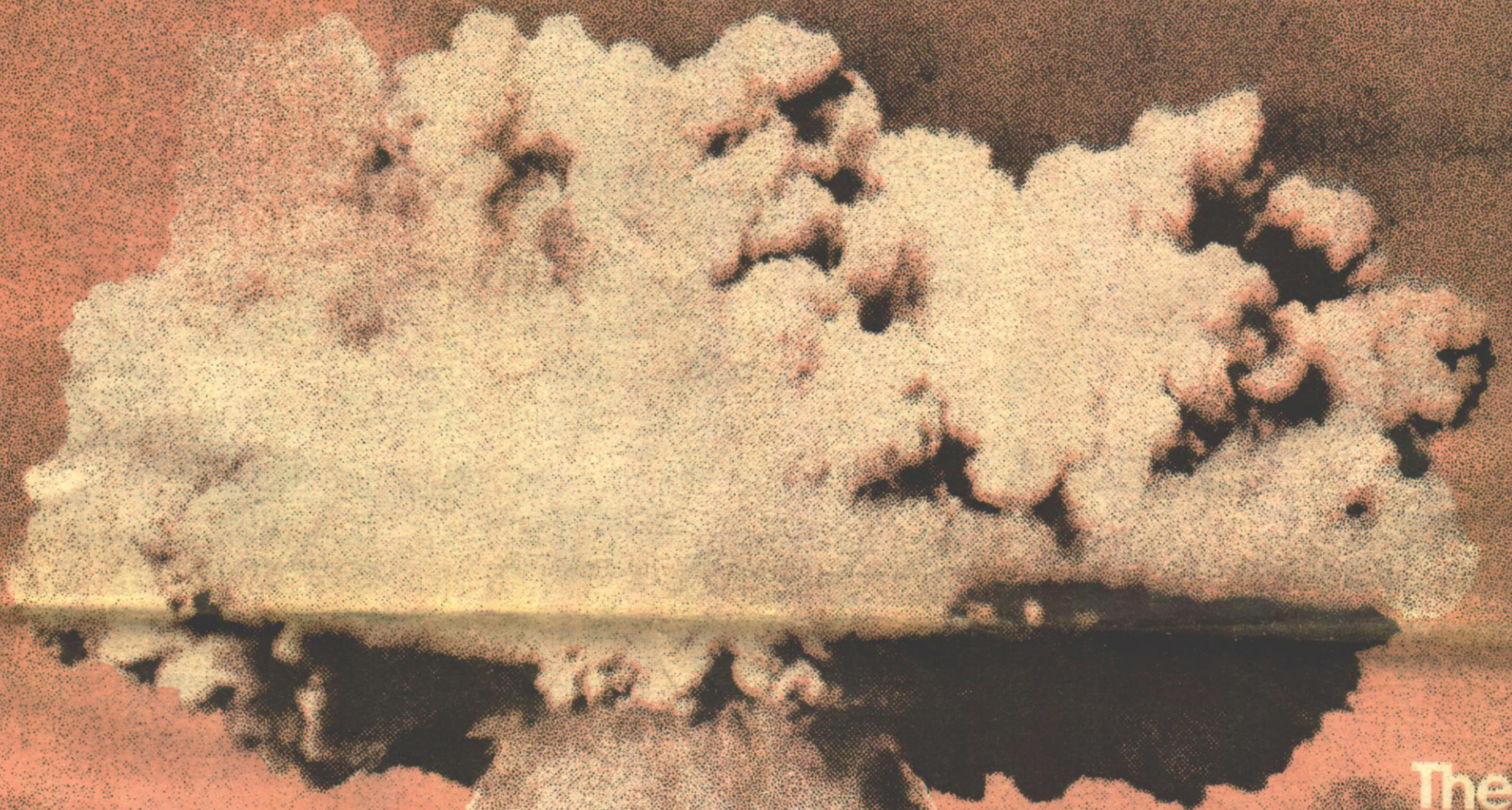
Medvedev
on China.
Page 11

Vol. 3, No. 19

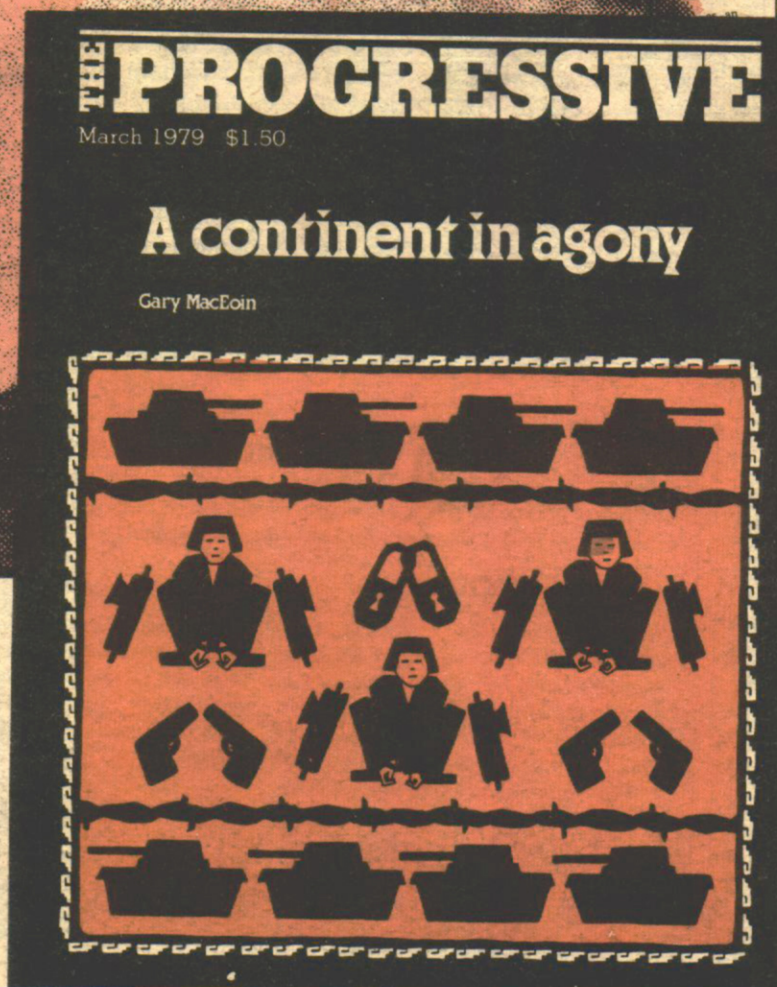
March 28-April 3, 1979

70 Cents

OPENING PANDORA'S BOX?



The govern-
ment claims
Progressive's
article will
give away
the secret of
the H-bomb.



The
Progressive
claims it got
its informa-
tion entirely
from publicly
available
sources.

PLUS: *Israelis differ over Palestinian rights Page 9.*
Arizona farm workers defy Chavez Page 12.
NORMA RAE celebrates working women Page 19.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE INSIDE STORY



A campaign worker in Byrne's office.

It could be anyone's game

By David Moberg

Jane Byrne isn't officially mayor of Chicago yet, but by now it's common wisdom that her victory in the Democratic primary has opened up politics in the city. The big question for the left, an activist in the socialist campaign for mayor in the April 3 election asks, is how do you take advantage of the opening?

Byrne appears to be taking advantage of the situation by keeping the Democratic party wide open and virtually inviting all factions to fight within it for her support. So she courts the old Machine committeemen—who now kiss her though they cursed her a few weeks ago—but she has also appointed a transition staff that is heavily weighted with stalwarts of the anti-Daley independent movement and various progressive academics.

One supporter suggests that she will create a "clean machine," one that keeps patronage but demands merit, one that permits politicking but prohibits payoffs. According to this view, Byrne will maintain a variety of links to her constituency. The old ward system may continue to function but more public hearings will be held, there will be new channels of communication to the neighborhoods, and there will be less reliance on a few key power brokers.

For the moment, city council members are lining up to support Byrne. By a vote of 39 to five they obeyed her command and gave the renters of the city a moratorium on condominium conversions after having turned down any such measure only a week earlier. The condo boom reported in *IN THESE TIMES* last fall has grown to crisis proportions and hearings last week in committee considered a variety of measures to temporarily halt the conversions. On the floor of the council following the hearings, there were only 13 and 16 votes out of 50 to consider some form of moratorium. Only a week later, after Byrne had called one of the most powerful aldermen, Edward R. Vrdolyak, one of her bitterest enemies prior to her primary victory, to ask him to bring in a 30 to 45 day moratorium, almost the entire council backed her proposal.

Although it looked for a moment like the city council might try to grab power and set itself up for confrontation with the mayor, it seems rather that the aldermen are preparing new coalitions, responding to a wider variety of pressures and jockeying to be Byrne's favorites.

This issue (Vol. 3, No. 19) published March 28, 1979, for newsstand distribution March 28-April 3.

Where does the left fit in?

How will left political forces take advantage of their chances now? If Byrne manages to pull out a large electorate, that increasingly loosely defined bloc of independents on the council could increase sharply. (One machine candidate already endorsed an independent running in an adjacent ward and another, running in a traditionally independent ward, publicly urged Byrne not to fire her controversial campaign manager, Don Rose.)

Two current campaigns suggest different strategies—out of many—available to the left.

Andrew Pulley, 27, an articulate veteran of black and anti-war movement activities and now a steelworker, is running as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. As a result of the Byrne upset, the mass media have given him a bit more attention. He has successfully forced several public debates and forums scheduled for Byrne and her Republican opponent to include him as well. The SWP has succeeded in a challenge to the city electoral rules that make it extremely difficult for minor parties to get on the ballot. It now hopes that Pulley will draw at least 5 percent of the votes to make them an established party.

In a humorous aside showing the desperation of the Machine in defeat, the SWP was approached by Alderman Roman Pucinski, who appears to have been scouting out the possibility of a regular Democrat opposing Byrne on the SWP ticket or of running a spoiler candidate against her to lower her vote total.

Much of Pulley's campaign literature stresses issues that are currently emphasized nationally by the SWP—opposition to nuclear power, support for Newport News shipyard strikers, opposition to the Weber anti-affirmative action suit. More local issues, such as public transportation, snow removal and desegregation of the schools, also get attention, but there is the nagging sense that Pulley and the SWP simply have not taken very seriously the city of Chicago, its immediate problems and the question of what they would do if they won on April 3. Despite many good ideas, the campaign thus far appears remote, rhetorical and unconvincing.

Pulley quite admirably favors taxing the rich—that is, the biggest banks and corporations—to fund a variety of improved city services. But how would he confront the corporate blackmail of leaving the city? Pulley would use his office "to mobilize people in the street to shut down industry, take it over and run it in their own interests."

A lofty view of politics.

A bit difficult to pull off under current legal and political conditions, you say? Pulley disdains a legislative strategy as even a complement—arguing that the current legislatures wouldn't pass such laws. He acknowledges that his strategy couldn't work in one city: "I want to put Chicago's problems and solutions in the context of the U.S. altogether because I believe nothing decisive can be done in Chicago unless there's a course of similar action in other cities." But a serious contender for mayor would have to start doing something immediately.

There are severe limits to what can be accomplished at local levels, but while challenging the limits it is important for socialists to be able to make the best use of existing city powers and resources. Asked about the city's loss of jobs (one-fifth of all manufacturing jobs vanished from 1967 to 1972), Pulley said, "I don't think it's important that businesses are gone," since unemployment is an inevitable and systemic feature of capitalism.

So rather than offer a plan for rebuilding depressed neighborhoods, Pulley would fight for a shortened work week by immediately reducing city workers' weeks to

30 hours at the same pay. Yet failure to address local development issues reflects a tendency not to see the city as city but only as an abstract part of the capitalist system. And desirable as a shortened work week would be, many Chicagoans might see the 30 hours as a lengthened work week for some city employees.

As workers, city employees likewise would be entitled to whatever they demanded—doubled salaries or more—because Pulley's fiscal solution is simply "tax the rich." But police would not be so well-treated because they aren't workers. Even under the control of a socialist mayor, Pulley says, their essential character could not be altered. They would remain strikebreakers and agents of capitalism.

Pulley wants to offer a "workers' alternative." In some ways he does. However, it is more in terms of very abstract principles than in any concrete, immediate program that takes into account the reality of the city while trying to transform it.

Echoes of the new left.

If Pulley's largely educational campaign can be seen as reflecting some old left approaches, Helen Shiller's candidacy for city council from the northside ward that includes part of very poor Uptown as well as lakeside high-rises and solid working-class bungalows reflects strengths and weaknesses of a legacy from the new left.

Shiller, 31, has worked with the Intercommunal Survival Committee, which has been a public defender and ally of the Black Panther Party as well as an organizing group dedicated to building vehicles for community control. As editor of *Keep Strong*, a community-oriented magazine initiated by the ISC, Shiller devoted attention to the intimate details of the area—rats here, faulty wiring there—as well as broader city issues. She has helped to draw up specific plans for rehabilitating parts of the neighborhood block by block, worked with the new community health clinic and assisted with the other "survival programs," such as food coops, the Black Lung Association (many ex-coal miners live in the area), and special educational programs.

Her campaign against incumbent Ralph Axelrod, scion of a long-time Machine family, has stressed "the negative kind of [housing] speculation that has spread its tentacles into every part of the ward," that is, not only condominium conversion but also "bleeding" of slum buildings. She led him in the three-way primary, in which her opponent is trying to brand her as a dangerous radical.

An independent alderman, she argues, must be more than the critic and offer specific alternative programs. "We can't change the city in the current context," she says, "but we can develop some models—for example, the clinic. What can you learn from that? That you can beat city hall and how to keep on doing it. The answer is community control." Shiller hopes to expand the mechanisms for community discussion, including small area councils with control over many planning and development decisions.

Unlike Pulley, the outspoken socialist, Shiller shuns any political label. She works both within the Democratic party and in coalition with a wide range of community people, including small businessmen. She allies herself with left politicians throughout the city, instead of standing apart as the SWP does. She emphasizes the concrete and immediate, hoping that people's broader vision of the future will grow from that. Yet it is doubtful that an alternative vision for the whole society will spring from even the best small community projects.

Is it possible for a candidate to succeed offering both—the immediate and the visionary? The newly "opened" politics of Chicago may provide in the coming years a testing ground, however tough, for quite varied left strategies.

IN THESE TIMES (USPS 352-310)

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except the first week of January and the fourth week of July by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Illinois. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices: 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

EDITORIAL

James Weinstein, Editor, M.J. Sklar, Associate Editor, Florence Hamlish Levinsohn, Managing Editor, John Judis, Political Editor, Patricia Aufderheide, Cultural Editor, David Moberg, National Affairs Editor, Mark Naison, Sports, Diana Johnstone (Paris), Mervyn Jones (London), Bruce Vanderwort (Geneva), David Mandel (Jerusalem), Foreign Correspondents, Steve Rosswurm, Librarian, Ken Rattner, Proofreader.

BUSINESS

William Sennett, James Weinstein, Co-publishers, Jan Czarnik, General Manager, Pat Vander Meer, Circulation, Ellen Deirdre Murphy, Advertising/Promotion, Bill Rehm, Office, Steve Rosswurm, Special Projects.

ART

Kerry Tremain, Director-on-leave, Tom Greensfelder, Acting Director, Lester Dore, Associate Director, Dolores Wilber, Assistant Director, Jim Rinnert, Composition, Pam Rice, Camera, Ken Firestone, Photographer.

BUREAUS

SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308, (404)881-1689. NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212)865-7638. BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 817 Thayer Place, Brookline, MA 02146, (617)738-9707. CALIFORNIA: Larry Remer, 3609 4th St., San Diego, CA 92103, (714)225-1128.

SPONSORS

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David Du Bois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Frances Putnam Fritchman, Stephen Fritchman, Barbara Garson, Eugene D. Genovese, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Herbert Marcuse, David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weinstein, William A. Williams, John Womack Jr.

The entire contents of *IN THESE TIMES* is copyright ©1979 by Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., and may not be reproduced in any manner either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. All rights reserved. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All editorial materials should be sent to *IN THESE TIMES*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago 60622. Subscriptions, address changes, and adjustments should be sent to *IN THESE TIMES*, P.O. Box 228, Westchester, IL 60153. Subscriptions are \$19.00/year (\$35.00 for libraries; \$32.00 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by *IN THESE TIMES* become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois.

CENSORSHIP

The "National Security" hoax

By John Junkerman

MADISON, WISC.

WHEN THE ANSWER-HUNGRY media pack had finally withdrawn from the cramped offices of the *Progressive* on Friday, March 9, bemused editor Erwin Knoll settled back in his chair, lit another cigarette and reflected: "Today the government made our case about the absurdity of the secrecy laws far more effectively and strongly than we ever could have."

Earlier in the evening, Knoll and managing editor Sam Day had been served, before whirling network news cameras, with a federal restraining order preventing them from publishing a story on the secrecy surrounding the hydrogen bomb, "The H-Bomb Secret."

The government received the order from federal judge Robert Warren earlier in the day after arguing that the manuscript contains classified information about the design and manufacture of the H bomb that is not available elsewhere and whose publication would accelerate nuclear proliferation.

Warren, a former Republican state's attorney general, invoked the secrecy provisions of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 for the first time in history to restrain *The Progressive*, its editors and free-lance writer Howard Morland from communicating in any way the contents of the article for ten days. The order was later extended to March 26, the publication date for the magazine's May issue, when the government will seek a temporary injunction.

In issuing the order, Warren said, "I would think long and hard before I gave the hydrogen bomb to Idi Amin," a statement that has become the standard characterization of the government's case against *The Progressive*.

It ain't what they say it is.

The magazine has been battling, within the confines of the secrecy order that prevents quotation of the manuscript, to dispel the impression that it does anything of the sort, while the feds have marshalled their heaviest guns on the small (40,000 monthly circulation) publication.

"We are not *Popular Mechanics*," Knoll wrote in a commentary for the



Erwin Knoll being served with a federal restraining order forbidding publication of *THE PROGRESSIVE*'s story on the H-bomb. With Knoll is Sam Day, *THE PROGRESSIVE*'s managing editor.

Washington Post, "nor is it our intent to provide anyone with a hydrogen-bomb kit." The principles of the bomb's design are widely known, he said, and available to any nation that would want to produce one. But most nations, outside of the five that have already made the bomb, do not have the sophisticated industrial capacity or the desire to do so.

The government has collected sworn affidavits from Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, Secretary of Energy James Schlesinger and numerous classification experts, who testify that release of the story would shorten the time needed for "nations or subnational units" to develop thermonuclear capability.

It does not matter, federal attorneys argue, that the author has

Continued on Page 6.

Energy Department threatens jail

By John Junkerman

MADISON, WISC.

THE *PROGRESSIVE*'S EDITORS and Howard Morland, author of the now famous unpublished story on the secrets of the hydrogen bomb, were unaware of the broad and stiff secrecy provisions of the Atomic Energy Act until just ten days before they were scheduled to publish the article, according to managing editor Sam Day.

Day told the *Madison Press Connection* in an exclusive interview that the magazine had not intended to submit the manuscript to the Department of Energy for approval until George William Rathens, an MIT professor and consultant to the State Department, leaked a copy to the DOE because he felt it violated security classifications.

After the leak, the magazine's attorneys informed Day and editor Erwin Knoll that they faced up to ten years in prison if they went ahead with publication of the article, which caused the editors to become concerned and contact the DOE on a number of occasions in late February, to clear the manuscript for publication.

On March 2, a delegation of six high-ranking officials from the Energy and Justice Departments travelled to Madison in an attempt to dissuade the magazine from publishing. They threatened legal action if the magazine would not cooperate.

"This caused an inner debate in the *Progressive*," Day said. "Some of us thought it might kill our magazine." The staff talked out the question and united solidly behind going with the uncensored article. But the magazine's board of directors did not decide until the last minute to back the staff.

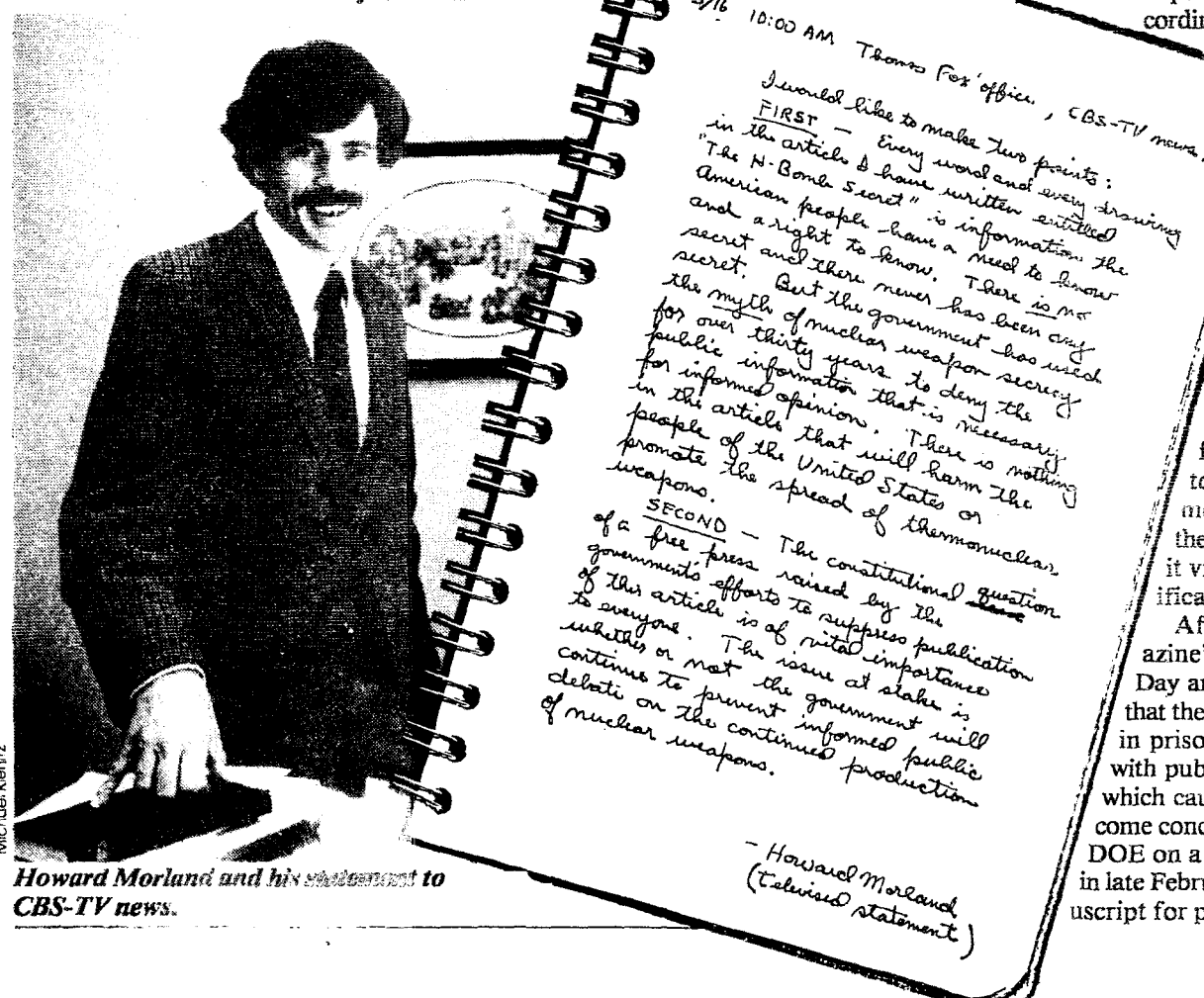
Two of the board members were on vacation in Mexico when the controversy hit. They returned just before deadline to inform the government of their intentions. At the last minute, Morris Rubin and Mary Sheridan met with the editors.

"There was a lot of suspense," Day recounted. "If either said no, it would have presented a real crisis. We felt that we had an obligation to go ahead with publication. If we backed down, we felt it would jeopardize the integrity of the magazine."

Both Rubin and Sheridan came down on the side of the First Amendment and backed the staff. "And that meant we were all together on it," Day said. The magazine informed the government, and the historic request for a restraining order was filed the next day.

The article that has caused such drama and controversy had its origins in a routine collaboration among journalists. Day, who joined *The Progressive* staff last spring after four years as editor of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, conducted a modest investigation into the nuclear weapons production complex last June. In the course of this investigation, he ran

Continued on page 6.



Howard Morland and his statement to CBS-TV news.



Truckers fear contract concessions

By David Moberg

TTEAMSTER UNION DISSIDENTS fear that president Frank Fitzsimmons will make damaging concessions on working conditions and work rules in the Master Freight Agreement that expires March 31 in order to produce a hefty wage and benefit package that can still technically slide in under Carter's wage guidelines.

"It is not only possible but likely that there will be takeaways," warns Teamsters for a Democratic Union organizer Ken Paff.

But the Teamsters and Trucking Management Inc., which represents the firms employing the roughly 300,000 truck drivers and dock workers covered by the Master Freight Agreement, have so far refused to talk about their proposals, leaving the rank and file Teamsters in the dark about the negotiations.

Since the union called last week for locals to take strike authorization votes, members may find out about some of the major proposals under discussion, but the danger lies in the subtle shifts of language and in the 38 supplementary riders governing special types of freight or geographical areas.

Leaks from the negotiations have, however, given the general outline of the union's economic demands. The Teamsters are asking for \$2.35 in wage increases over the next three years, with \$1.35 in the first year. That would break the 7 percent guidelines with a 14 percent increase in current wages, that range from \$9.45 to \$9.60 an hour. However, 58 cents of the first-year increase is actually a cost-of-living increment covering the past year that was planned to go into effect April 1. The Teamsters say it shouldn't count against the guidelines; so far, the government says it should.

Industry's offer to the Teamsters came later in the week. It was a long distance from the unions, namely 65 cents an hour for the first year and 10 cents an hour for the two years following.

A new formula.

The union is also reportedly asking that future cost-of-living increases be calculated on a new formula, since workers now recover only about two-thirds of their wages lost to inflation. Truckers would get one cent for every 0.2 percent increase in the consumer price index under the new proposal instead of one cent for every 0.3 percent increase.

Payments for pensions, which have not increased in 6 years despite 52 percent inflation, would rise \$8 a week in the first year of the contract, and \$4 in each subsequent year. Employer contributions to the health and welfare fund would be

boosted by \$6 the first year and \$4 the next two years. Much of the increase will, however, be needed to maintain present benefits in some of the badly mismanaged funds.

The whole proposed package would raise labor costs by 35-38 percent, according to various estimates. Even with the revision to exclude some benefit costs, that would still break the guidelines. However, TDU's Paff considers it a "moderate" proposal that barely exceeds the 34 percent Teamsters won three years ago.

Carter's inflation-fighting program has been ailing recently. Prices increased by 7.7 percent last year and at an annual rate of 10.8 percent in January of this year. Also, profits for last year increased by 26.4 percent, the highest annual increase in three decades. Consequently, the administration has even more at stake in restraining the Teamsters, who have been considered the crucial test since the guidelines were announced last fall. But in an interview with the *New York Times*, president Frank Fitzsimmons said it would not be fair to hold down workers' wages while corporate profits rise so fast.

Carter threatened in January to act quickly to end any Teamster strike. To add clout to the guidelines, the Interstate Commerce Commission warned that it would not automatically pass through wage costs, as it has in the past—weakening one of the foundations of the union's

successful pursuit of high wages for truckers.

Deregulation threatened.

Also, the administration has threatened to accelerate its plan for deregulation of the trucking industry, which had until this week been pushed to the back burner. However, the action was expedited somewhat this week when Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA) and Howard Cannon (D-NV) agreed on which committee would handle it.

Other pressures are also at work to temper Teamster demands. There is a dark cloud of possible indictments on a broad range of charges hanging over the heads of nearly all Teamster officials. Moreover, some Teamsters yearn for an image of public respectability to counter their crime-tarnished reputation. More important, non-union trucking firms have been making deep inroads into the industry in recent years, cutting out union jobs.

The historically rapid growth of the trucking industry since the end of World War II has tapered off. Concentration is increasing, but the cost of the merger acquisitions is adding to the already extremely high ratio of debt to net worth, according to Kim Moody, executive director of the Labor Education and Research Project. Although trucking is highly profitable, it is strongly cyclical and its debt structure makes it additionally vulnerable to recessions. As a result, Moody argues, "the way the trucking companies see to maintain their profitability through the next recession is dismantling, in the Master Freight Agreement, what industry sees as 'restrictive work practices' or rules that protect working conditions."

There is additional appeal in such moves to increase productivity: the wage guidelines allow settlements in excess of 7 percent if there are explicit changes in work rules that increase output per worker, a provision some observers felt was written expressly for the Teamsters.

Work rules under the gun.

Such rewriting of work rules could be spread throughout the contract and its supplements. Opposition leaders fear that the new contract could eliminate the requirement that management negotiate with the local union before changing work rules, as industry has requested. There could be further erosion of the fixed starting times and expansion of flexible work weeks. Both changes give management more flexibility and eliminates much overtime pay for drivers as well as cutting into their home life routines.

Productivity standards and quotas—for dock workers especially but also for city drivers—could be expanded. That would hurt older workers hardest and contribute—as many other threatened changes would—to the increase of "casualization," reliance on part-time or short-term workers who earn less and have fewer rights.

There could also be a new category of lower-paid employees under an extended probationary period, as in the Kroger grocery contract, that would pay new workers one-fourth less for their first 2.5 years of work. Paff also warned that an industry proposal for a new short-haul contract committee could lead to more sweetheart contracts.

Generally, Teamster dissidents are worried that there will be further erosion of the desired single standard for the whole industry under the "special commodity" provisions that set special rates for selected goods carried in bulk.

One problem the union watchdogs face is that there is not likely to be any one glaringly offensive concession that could unite opposition to the endangered working conditions. The companies, Paff says, "want any number of changes, and some

Continued on page 8.

A dream of a Teamster dissident

By Mike Kelly

CHICAGO

AN EXTENSION AND A PEACEFUL settlement of a contract somewhat better than Carter's guidelines—that's the best guess of most of those close to Teamster and trucking industry negotiations. But a strike may turn out to be a lot more likely if history is any guide.

In 1970, what looked like it might be a peaceful settlement was turned into the biggest Teamster strike of modern history and was followed by an explosion of rank and file organization. There are a lot of similarities between the 1970 and 1979 situations.

Frank Fitzsimmons settled the freight agreement in 1970 for \$1.10 an hour. When he did, Ed Fenner, executive director of the Chicago Truck Drivers Union (Independent), rejected the employers' offer and demanded \$1.85. The employers locked out Chicago drivers and the Chicago union struck the employers.

The Chicago lockout and strike was all that was needed to spark wildcats across the country. The Teamster rank and file, ignoring threats from International and local officers, shut down the freight lines from Los Angeles to Atlanta. Teamster drivers and dock workers defied injunctions and fought police and national guardsmen to keep the freight from rolling. Chicago held out for 13 weeks and the wildcats went on intermittently during that entire period. Finally the employers came back to the table and accepted the \$1.85 and a cost-of-living increase. By the end of that three-year contract, the total hourly wage gain was \$2.01, almost double Fitzsimmons' original settlement.

Following that contract, employers and union officials colluded to remove militants from the ranks—firing hundreds of workers in Los Angeles alone.

TURF formed.

But in the aftermath of the tremendous victory of the strike of 1970 and the em-

ployers' reprisals, a rank and file organization was created. Made up of Local 500 at 50 pension clubs in the West and the Unity Committees of Midwestern cities like Detroit and Gary, the drivers and dockmen came together under the banner, Teamsters Union Rank and File (TURF).

Thousands joined the group hoping to oust Fitzsimmons and local officials, to improve pension benefits, to win better representation. But in a year or two the group collapsed for lack of a common platform and a trusted leadership. A few of the leaders used TURF as a springboard to careers in the Teamster bureaucracy.

There are a lot of similarities with 1970: •A context of international instability: in 1970 it was the Vietnam war. Today it is the turnabout on China and Taiwan, the revolution in Iran, the threat to Middle East oil supplies.

•An atmosphere of unfolding economic crisis: the prolonged boom of the '60s ended and the nation faced the dilemma of stagflation. Today all of that is exacerbated. An existing 12 percent annual rate of inflation will be increased with the new Iranian cutbacks on oil production and increases in prices. At the same time, the economy is headed for a recession that promises to be as bad as that of 1974.

•The April 1970 Teamster wildcat was preceded by the postal workers' wildcat strike of March in which tens of thousands of workers shut down the U.S. Post Office in 200 cities in what was the first national strike of government employees. The possible Teamster strike of 1979 has been preceded by a United Mine Workers strike and defiance of Taft-Hartley.

A strike scenario.

The likely strike scenario for 1979 is this. Fitzsimmons is forced by employer intransigence and rank and file pressure to call for strike votes in union locals on the weekend of March 24-25. On March 31, the union calls a nationwide freight strike, intending to let the ranks blow off steam for a few days. But Ed Fenner, of the Chicago Independent, the only Teamster

official who, because he controls his own international union, doesn't have to fear reprisals from the international, wants to pass into history as a great labor statesman. In his mid-seventies, he is very near to passing into history. He rejects proposed Teamster settlements and puts forward his own contract proposal. The issue is one cent for every .1 percent rise in the cost-of-living index—the IBT is willing to settle for a cent for every .2 percent. It is a very costly demand for the employers.

Local Teamster official in Chicago Louis Peick of IBT 705 and William Joyce of IBT 710 publicly line up with the International but privately encourage Fenner, hoping that a larger settlement led by Chicago will improve their situation in the international. Peick would like to use a Chicago-led contract rejection to displace Kansas City Teamster Roy Williams and Ohio Teamster Jackie Presser as the likely successor to Fitzsimmons.

But once Fenner has rejected the contract and Peick and Joyce have encouraged their members to honor Chicago Independent picketlines freight is disrupted nationally, for Chicago is the highway, rail and airfreight capital of the country. Teamster rank and file dissidents in cities with militant traditions like Detroit and St. Louis and more militant sections of the industry like special commodity carriers take a walk, and a nationwide wildcat strike begins. Dissident organizations like Teamsters for a Democratic Union and PROD are able to step into the vacuum of leadership and force the union officials and employers back to the bargaining table to come up with an acceptable offer. Carter, Bosworth and Kahn issue contradictory and confusing statements, positions and postures from the White House. Teamster ranks win a huge contract gain, and TDU and PROD grow from 10,000 to 40,000 by the next IBT convention in 1981.

In the wake of a Teamster victory, rubber and electrical workers tear the Carter guidelines to pieces.

All of this, of course, is based on the idea that history is any guide.



Non-driving Teamsters often don't get much for their union dues

By Steve Askin

CHICAGO

HECTOR VELASQUEZ BECAME a member of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters ten years ago, after IBT Produce Drivers and Florists Local 703 signed a contract with the Chicago highway and landscaping firm he worked for as a laborer.

Velasquez and co-workers first found out they were in the union by reading receipts they receive for dues deducted from their paychecks.

Velasquez did not need a new union. He had been in the Laborers International Union (AFL-CIO) through seven previous years as an employee of landscaping contractors.

The switch was very profitable for Velasquez's employer. Landscape workers had been paid at the Laborers Union construction workers rate. After the shift, their pay dropped to Local 703's nursery drivers' rate, several dollars an hour lower. Under the Local 703 contract, workers received no pension, no health insurance.

Even that weak contract went unenforced. Landscapers sometimes received straight-time pay for overtime work. Their small vacation allowance, one to two days paid time for each 10½ weeks worked, was rarely paid.

In 1973, the Legal Assistance Foundation helped Velasquez and other landscapers file grievances with the union and lawsuits against several employers. Through court action, hundreds of workers received back vacation and overtime pay.

But legal assistance lawyer Kalman D. Resnick reports that the union still ignores grievances on newly discovered underpayments. Because Velasquez fears reprisals if identified as a spokesman, his name has been altered.

IBT hospital workers, too.

Elizabeth Patrick is a leader among orderlies at the University of Chicago's Billings Hospital. When their old union failed to serve them, she and fellow workers went to the biggest labor organization they could find: International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 743.

After the 900 hospital blue-collar workers chose to become Teamsters in balloting two years ago, Patrick's fellow or-

derlies elected her shop steward and a negotiating committee member. She helped negotiate raises of 7 to 12 percent, varying with seniority and type of job, and a reduction from 10½ years to three in the time required to rise to the top of the pay scale.

Local 743's steward training program taught her how to fight and win on grievances, Patrick says. Local 743 business agents, she reports, help her and other stewards obtain back pay for unfairly suspended workers and victories on other grievances which "no one would ever think you could win."

If Hernandez and Patrick seem unlikely Teamsters, it is because the popular image of the IBT as a truck drivers' union is 40 years out of date.

Some IBT locals have pursued non-driver members since 1934, when a Minneapolis Teamster official, Trotskyist Farrell Dobbs, realized that control over movement of goods could be a powerful lever for forcing recalcitrant employers to negotiate.

Jimmy Hoffa, who learned of that power from Dobbs, used it to expand the IBT—then a federation of craft unions like Produce Drivers, Beer Drivers and Laundry Drivers—to include general freight drivers and warehouse workers.

A reported 2,300,000 organized.

After it was expelled from the AFL-CIO for corruption in 1957, the Teamsters dramatically expanded organizing outside the transport and storage industry. The union grew from 1.45 million members in 1957 to a reported 2.3 million today.

In recent years, nearly one of every five newly unionized private sector workers became Teamsters. The union has also done much organizing among state and local government workers, for whom no organizing statistics are available.

Each organizing wave altered the union's composition. The old craft locals today include only a small percentage of all IBT members. Trucking firms and warehouses each employ about one-fourth of its members, according to the union's research department. About one-third of Teamsters, including the vast majority of blacks, Latino and women members, are production, service or white-collar workers employed outside any of the union's traditional strongholds.

Publicity about official racketeering

hampers, but doesn't stymie, Teamster organizing. In interviews during several recent unionization campaigns, I found that the workers most distressed by Teamster corruption were often attracted by the union's reputation for toughness at the bargaining table.

That reputation is based primarily on its success in obtaining big wage hikes for the highest paid members, trucking industry employees covered by the National Master Freight Agreement and related contracts. Their wages, at \$9.45 an hour and up, are among the highest paid to any blue-collar workers outside the building trades.

Most contracts inferior.

But even within the trucking industry, a large minority of Teamsters work under contracts inferior to the national agreements, including some that have been exposed as products of sweetheart deals with management. And the retirement security of many Teamster truck drivers is threatened by reckless and corrupt pension fund investment practices.

Abuses that financially injure members appear, however, to be most common outside trucking. In an investigation for the *Chicago Reporter*, a newsletter on racial issues, I found that monthly payroll dues deductions are the only sign of union membership for thousands of Chicago-area Teamster production and service workers. The worst abuses occur in three locals run by officials with long records of organized crime activity.

Some locals do bargain honestly. Chicago's Local 743, the largest in the IBT

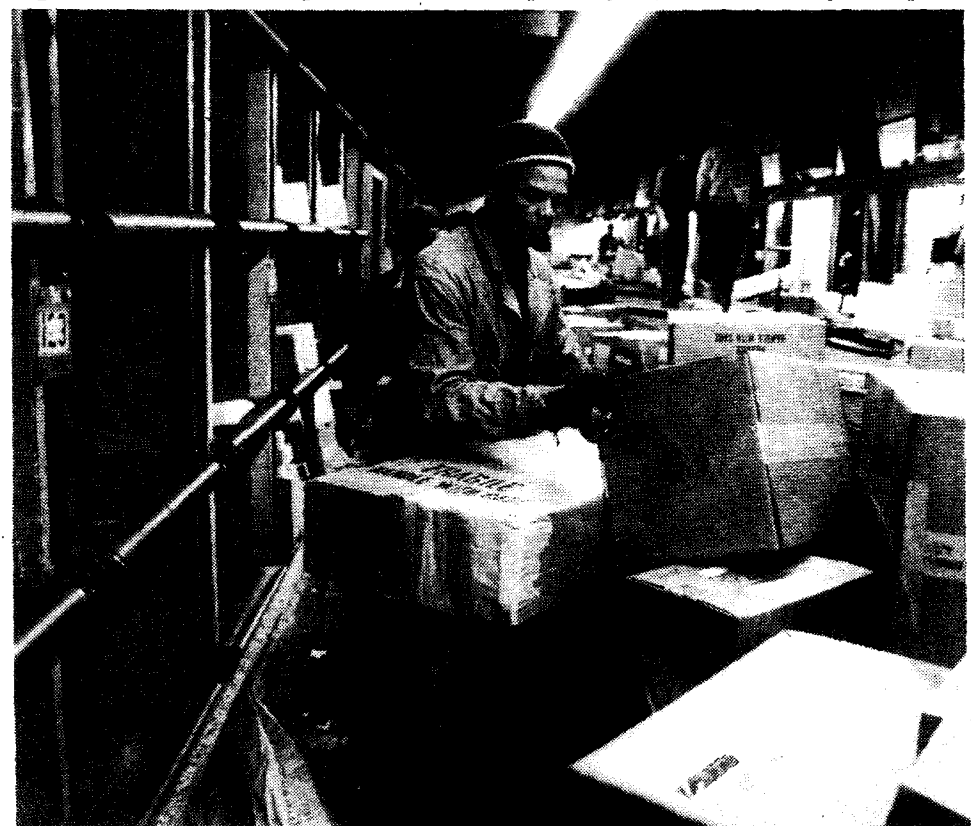
with 30,000 members scattered through 600 workplaces, has boosted the living standards of many workers in traditionally low-paid jobs.

About one-third of the members are hospital employees. Though their Local 743 contracts rarely provide munificent wages—at Billings Hospital, as in many other Local 743 workplaces, they range upward from about \$4.50 an hour—spot comparisons with non-union health facilities show that pay is 5 to 15 percent higher in the Local 743 shops.

Election of shop stewards and negotiating committees makes Local 743 more democratic than most IBT subdivisions. But isolation from each other in hundreds of unrelated shops means members can't organize to influence local-wide politics. Though more than half the members are women, six out of seven executive board members are men. Those officers pay themselves lavish salaries. At \$200,000 a year, the local president's pay is the highest for any U.S. union job. As in most non-trucking locals, union officer elections are almost never contested. New officials are recruited by those who already hold power.

Though truck drivers, too, are scattered among many small employers, multi-employer contracts weld them into larger communities of interest. Furthermore, say members of union reform groups PROD and Teamsters for a Democratic Union, mobility and a tradition of trucker militancy make the drivers' locals far more volatile politically.

Steve Askin is labor writer for the Chicago Reporter, from which this story is adapted.



Chicago United Parcel Service dockworkers, represented by Teamster Local 705.

H-bomb

Continued from page 3.

little special knowledge of atomic physics or that he gathered all his information from public documents and authorized tours of nuclear production facilities. Information that relates to the design and manufacture of thermonuclear weapons is "classified at birth" under the untested secrecy provision of the Act.

The *Progressive* has filed affidavits from nuclear physicists testifying to the ready availability of the information in the Morland manuscript. Theodore Postol, a physicist at the Argonne National Laboratory in Illinois who has no access to classified data, repeated the feat of describing the design of the H-bomb by studying a diagram in the *Encyclopedia Americana*. Any competent physicist could do the same in a matter of hours, he said in an affidavit that the government immediately asked to have classified. The "secret," uncovered by the novice investigative reporter in months of research, is that "secrecy is used as a pretext to deprive the American people of information essential to informed debate on issues that affect the environment, public health and safety and the setting of national priorities," Knoll claims.

All of the allegedly restricted information in the article is discussed in the context of policy issues such as the continuation of weapons testing under the proposed new SALT treaty or the placement of nuclear storage bunkers near the Honolulu Airport.

"Every word and every drawing," Morland said in his first public statement after the manuscript was restrained, "is information the American people have a need to know and a right to know."

Indeed, the idea for the article came in part from an investigation managing editor Day conducted over the summer that showed the government was secretly producing the neutron bomb despite congressional orders not to do so. Though Day was prevented by security restrictions

from gathering firm evidence of the unauthorized production, the magazine published his expose in late August and it was conformed by President Carter six weeks later.

Day argues that the magazine is attempting to prove a maxim of Albert Einstein: "There is no secret and there is no defense," in an explanation Day wrote for Pacific News Service. "Only an informed public, waging an informed political debate, can create the pressure required to force a cutback or to halt the production of these weapons," Day wrote.

Politics the motives.

As in the Pentagon Papers case, it is politics and not national security that motivates the government infringement of the First Amendment, *The Progressive* argues. But federal authorities claim they have a stronger legal argument this time around, because *The Progressive* story falls under the specific provisions of the Atomic Energy Act rather than the broad Espionage Act. The two cases are also different in that the "H-Bomb Secret" will have a future impact on national security, where the Pentagon Papers were historical in content, they contend.

The nation's press has been generally equivocal about the challenge to *The Progressive*, treating the government's claims with skepticism but endorsing the use of prior restraint if it can be proved that national security is actually at stake. A number of major newspapers have suggested the magazine agree to delete the portions of the manuscript the government considers restricted.

This was the route chosen by *Scientific American* in 1950, when it faced similar pressure under the Atomic Energy Act for an article it had printed on the dangers of hydrogen weapons. That magazine allowed the government to burn 3000 copies of the article, then published a censored version.

The Progressive went to the government before publishing, because it could not afford to have its editions seized and it feared for the legal consequences, which include up to ten years in prison and \$10,000 in fines. The government offered to edit out the sensitive copy, but the

Affidavit suppressed

Large portions of the affidavits filed by free-lance writer Howard Morland in the case of *The United States vs. The Progressive, Inc.* were suppressed by the U.S. Attorney's office in Madison last week.

The author of "The H-Bomb Secret," submitted two affidavits, one 29 pages long and the other four pages, plus a 2½-inch thick appendix that described in detail the sources for his article and

how he had gathered his data.

The U.S. Attorney's office suppressed the entire four-page affidavit, made 33 deletions in the longer one, and suppressed four of the 47 items in the appendix, most of which consisted of already published materials.

Erwin Knoll, editor of the *Progressive* commented that the affidavits constitute "a meticulous documentation of all the published sources for [Morland's] article and a careful account of how he compiled all the information that the government alleges is secret." The documents demonstrate, Knoll said, "that any reporter could have done what [Morland] did."

magazine refused, choosing to fight instead.

Knoll said the fight will be taken to the Supreme Court if necessary, a move that was immediately blasted by the *Washington Post*. The case is "a real First Amendment loser," the *Post* said, "given the present judicial climate." Joining the *Post* in early condemnation of *The Progressive* were the prestigious Federation of American Scientists and the liberal Union of Concerned Scientists.

As *The Progressive's* side of the story

began to be heard around the country, support began to swing toward the magazine. The American Civil Liberties Union has announced that it will file a "friend of the court" brief in support; the War Resisters League, Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy, and the Institute for Policy Studies issued statements of support; and backing has come from former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Nat Hentoff, I.F. Stone, Dave Dellinger, the *Nation*, the *Columbia Journalism Review*, *Mother Jones* and *IN THESE TIMES*.

Morland

Continued from page 3.

across the name of Howard Morland, an anti-nuclear activist who had put together a slide show about nuclear weapons, and the two met in June.

Morland, 36, had been an Air Force pilot during the Vietnam war and later worked as a commercial pilot and a carpenter, and travelled widely throughout the world. He had been teaching himself about nuclear weapons and Day was impressed with the extent of his knowledge and made plans for future work together.

When Day finished a tour of nuclear weapons facilities, it became clear to him that further investigation was needed to

write a comprehensive article on the subject. He contacted Morland, who then took over the task.

Morland produced his first article, "Tritium: the New Genie" late in the summer and it was published in the February issue of *The Progressive*. Day and Morland concluded from these investigations that the real story was secrecy itself and how the mystique of national security "keeps us assiduous press people from getting knowledgeable."

They then set out to prove, through study of public information, that the secret of the hydrogen bomb, "the most sensitive secret of all," is actually accessible to a good investigative reporter. In the next three months, Morland put together the basic concepts of the design of the bomb. His information was refined and finalized in the manuscript the government now claims will upset "the stability of the world."

NEW YORK

VPRO-TV
Dutch Television

sponsors an open forum

Susan Sontag
I.F. Stone
Gus Hall
Peter Camejo
Michael Harrington
Henry Foner

discuss the classic question:

Why has socialism been unable to become important in the United States?

The panelists will also examine the present status of American socialism and will speculate about its prospects.

Historian Henry Steele Commager will introduce the subject and will moderate the discussion.

With audience participation

A videotape of this forum will be broadcast in several European countries.

Saturday, March 31 2:30 pm
Cooper Union Auditorium
Third Ave. at 7th St.

Free Admission



David Moberg's reports on the People's Temple, first published in *In These Times*, now reprinted as a pamphlet.

Firsthand reporting from Guyana and San Francisco on the "socialist" dream turned nightmare. On the cult leader whose vision of a new life for his faithful became "revolutionary suicide."

Send \$1.00 to:

In These Times Reprint • 1509 N. Milwaukee • Chicago, IL 60622

Two Special Offers to Readers of In These Times:

Eurocommunism and the State

Santiago Carrillo

The General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain outlines the historical roots of Eurocommunism, and describes a model for democratic socialism.

Paper

\$5 including postage

The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State, 1900-1918

James Weinstein

In These Times' editor traces the development of liberalism, and details the relationship of business and government during the Progressive Era.

Paper

\$5.45 including postage

Order Both Titles for \$9.45, postage included

Send orders to In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

NATIVE AMERICANS

FBI manufactured AIM's Marshall's conviction

By Karen Northcott

RAPID CITY, S.DAK.

A LLEGATIONS OF FBI MISCONDUCT including the fabrication of evidence, suborning of perjury and the coercion of witnesses were detailed in a Rapid City, S.Dak., courtroom last week.

Richard Marshall, an Oglala from the Pine Ridge Reservation, petitioned the court for a new trial, arguing that his 1976 murder conviction and subsequent life sentence were based solely on the perjured testimony of Myrtle Poor Bear—testimony procured and manufactured by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Poor Bear later recanted her testimony that eventually led to last week's post-conviction hearing.

Marshall and co-defendant Russell Means were charged with the 1975 murder of Martin Montileaux in an off reservation border town. Marshall was tried and convicted. Means was tried four months later and acquitted. The crucial difference in the two trials was Poor Bear's testimony. The 26-year-old reservation resident testified that she was Marshall's girlfriend and that Marshall had confessed the shooting to her. She was the only witness to link Marshall to the killing and was the star witness used to prove the state's contention that the shooting was planned and therefore constituted first degree murder.

Affidavits signed by Poor Bear were the basis for the extradition from Canada of American Indian Movement activist Leonard Peltier. Peltier was convicted and sentenced to two life sentences for the 1975 killing of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Her testimony in that case also included a claim to be Peltier's girlfriend and to have heard Peltier's confession. That testimony was discredited by the U.S. attorney who prosecuted Peltier. FBI handling of that testimony has been criticized by a judge on the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals. The same agents who "investigated" the Peltier case "investigated" the Marshall case.

The Rapid City courtroom was packed. Marshall's supporters listened intently as defense attorney Ken Tilsen outlined a pattern of FBI misconduct against the American Indian Movement, reading from numerous FBI memos and documents. Circuit Court Judge Merton Tice permitted the defense to delve into certain aspects of the Peltier case, raising questions about the FBI conduct. Tilsen chronicled a history of zealous anti-American Indian Movement and anti-Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee activity on the part of agents David Price and Bill Woods.

Price, an eight-year veteran of the bureau, took the stand for two hours to defend his handling of Poor Bear. His testimony was riddled with denials of wrongdoing, "I don't recall's" and refusals to answer certain areas of questioning, claiming privileged information. He denied threatening Poor Bear with autopsy pictures of slain AIM activist Anna Mae Aquash as a way to induce the young woman to cooperate. He denied threatening Poor Bear's nine-year-old daughter. He further denied having full knowledge of Poor Bear's long and disastrous medical history which would have precluded her use as a credible witness.

Tilsen questioned the 31-year-old agent as to the meaning of an FBI memo entitled "A Predication for an Investigation of American Indian Movement Members and Supporters."

"Do I understand," Tilsen asked, "that agents of the FBI have been instructed to investigate the American Indian Movement?"

"Not exactly instructed," the agent replied.

When pressed whether this instruction to investigate AIM prompted his interest in Richard Marshall, the agent replied, "I don't recall."

The defense questioned unusual FBI interest and participation in the state's case against Marshall, citing FBI reports of meetings between members of the Pennington County sheriff's department and the FBI resulting in the eventual production of Poor Bear as the state's star witness.

"Isn't it a fact," Tilsen queried, "that



Richard Marshall confers in the courtroom with AIM leader Bill Means.

you didn't take Poor Bear to the sheriff's department until it became quite clear to you that Marshall would have been acquitted?"

"No," Price denied adamantly.

Pennington County deputy sheriff Donald Phillips detailed three interviews with Montileaux prior to his death. Under intense defense questioning the deputy reluctantly admitted to prompting the man to identify Marshall. As Montileaux lay dying in the hospital, Phillips testified, "I told him I hated to see these guys go free, especially if it's some big AIM guys."

Towards the end of his testimony the deputy shocked the courtroom by stating erroneously that Montileaux had indeed identified Marshall as his assailant.

Tilsen sharply reminded Phillips that this directly contradicted his earlier sworn

testimony. He then remembered that Montileaux had in fact been unable to identify the man who shot him and said that he had "made a mistake" when he said that he could.

"The testimony," Tilsen said, "points to the prejudice against the American Indian Movement and its members. Prejudice," he maintained, "which continues even today as Mr. Phillips led us to believe that Montileaux identified Marshall as his killer and when confronted with that discrepancy merely replied, 'I made a mistake. I am sorry.'"

"It is this kind of sordidness, this kind of attitude," Tilsen concluded, "that is the reason that Dick Marshall is not a free man today."

Judge Tice has taken the case under advisement.

IN THE SOUTH

Tupelo marches again

By Nick Sullivan

TUPELO, MISS.

THE CONVICTION BY AN ALL-white jury of a 28-year-old black man, Herbert Trice Jr., on charges of assaulting a police officer, brought 250 black United League marchers back to the streets of Tupelo, Miss., on March 10 for the first time in over three months. The march, the beginning of a summer offensive, was the first of 15 in the last year that did not attract a counter-demonstration from the Ku Klux Klan.

The United League, a northern Mississippi-based civil rights group slowly spreading south to Jackson and into Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia, moved into Tupelo last March to demand the resignation of two policemen accused of beating a confession from a black man.

The League started an economic boycott that has driven two stores out of business. When the policemen resigned, they requested that the United League leave Tupelo. Instead, the League upped their demands for fairer hiring practices and a half-black police review board. The League has successfully used issues of police brutality and courtroom injustice to mobilize its 50,000 Mississippi members. It now demands that Trice not be sentenced.

Trice was offered a chance to plead guilty

to a misdemeanor charge of assault, but chose to stand trial on the felony charge that carries a one to five-year sentence. "It's time we stop getting on our knees and pleading guilty when we're innocent," said Trice. His refusal to plea bargain has made him an immensely popular symbol of strength, and scores of blacks planned to take off work on March 7 to attend his sentencing. On March 6, however, Judge Senter pleaded illness and postponed the court's action, in an apparent move to test the mood of Saturday's march.

"If they sentence Herbert Trice," shouted League attorney Lewis Myers from the courthouse steps, "Tupelo's gonna get a lot more trouble than they're looking for. I want everyone to take their kids out of school and bring them to the courthouse. They'll get a good lesson in civics. They'll see racism at work."

The Klan was expected on Saturday, because they have always shown, and because it was Trice who discovered a cache of Klan submachine guns during a United League rally last June. He has been threatened ever since. Trice, a Vietnam veteran, is a valuable member of the League's security force, the Deacons.

Jim Agnew, of the League's Tupelo office, was nervous Friday night as we drove through town. "If Trice gets pulled into something stupid, he's got a lot of friends who will follow." Agnew looked in the rear-view mirror. "There's the

police 'monitoring' us."

On March 10, eight armed Deacons, including Trice, walked 100 yards ahead of two pick-up trucks manned with walkie-talkies. Another row of guards with clubs walked between the trucks and the League's leaders. It is this readiness and willingness to fight that League president Skip Robinson says distinguishes this movement from earlier black movements. The crowd, followed by more Deacons and a motorcade, marched from a Baptist church to the courthouse. Forty people, some white, had come by bus from Atlanta.

Downtown Tupelo was deserted. The only visible whites were huddled behind the plate glass doors of the police station and the sheriff's office. "I've never seen this town so quiet on a Saturday," said one marcher.

Tupelo, a prosperous mall-surrounded factory and TVA town of 25,000 (22 percent black) in cotton and soybean country, was designated in 1967 an All-American City. Tupelo was quiet during the '60s, but the arrival of the United League brought in the KKK. There are now a lot of hand grenades, sawed-off shotguns and submachine guns in this All-American city.

"Both the cops and the KKK have tried to get us to react with violence," says Lee County League president Walter Stanfield, "but we've done a good job of keeping it non-violent. It's not the Klan in white robes were're worried about. It's the Klan in black robes, the jury."

Trice was arrested Aug. 4, 1978, while picketing a downtown store. He and Roosevelt Robinson, also arrested but not yet tried, were acting as marshalls to keep the picketers from responding to

white taunts. Two facts are disputed. Robinson was exchanging words with whites in a car when the cops moved in to arrest him for disturbing the peace. Robinson struggled with the cops and in the scuffle one cop dropped his nightstick. Here the testimony diverged.

White witnesses testified that Trice picked up the stick, hit the cop, pushed him against the car and tried to choke him. Black witnesses testified that Trice handed the stick back to the cop, who then hit Trice. Trice reacted by pushing the cop against the car in self-defense.

Tupelo officials and an editorial in the Northeastern Mississippi Daily Journal accused the United League of using the Trice case as a "nail upon which to hang protests." Robinson has admitted to saying that he hopes Trice goes to jail for the "impetus it will give the movement." The editorial, in particular, criticized Trice for not accepting the plea-bargaining offer, and his attorney, Leonard McClellan, for not challenging the racial composition of the jury before the trial. The editorial was a virtual accusation of malpractice, for which McClellan has threatened to sue the paper.

The Trice case has undeniably become a springboard for a new season of protest. The United League has planned marches for Okolona, just south of Tupelo, and Lexington. The League is investigating the hiring and firing practices of Tupelo factories, and will likely strengthen the economic boycott that slipped last winter. And, consistent with their "Justice for All" slogan, the League is bringing pressure to prosecute a black cop accused of killing a black man in Involia, Miss.

In Mississippi, justice is a more hard-boiled concept than integration.

Teamster reform groups

Continued from page 4.

of them will be in the supplements and hard to pinpoint. They may get some changes in one area and others in another area. If they nickel and dime you to death—you know you can steal someone's money a nickel and a dime at a time—they know it's harder for us to oppose it. They take one thing from people in the East, another from people in the West and a third from people in the middle, and you have trouble getting riled up at the same time about the same issue. It divides you."

Concessions could come later.

Even if the concessions are not clearly made in the contract, they can be instituted later, Paul Poulos, field organizer for PROD, a Teamster reform group, argues. Joint committees of three union and three management representatives are empowered by the contract to act essentially as arbitrators in settling grievances, but unlike arbitrators, "they can rewrite the contract," Poulos says, and have done that extensively.

Instead of conceding on work rules, the reform groups hope that the Teamsters will press ahead with proposals made in two regional conferences of the union to eliminate all mandatory overtime and to keep workers on the job until a grievance case is heard—guaranteeing their "innocence until proven guilty." They want restrictions on the "unconscionable hours," as Poulos says, that many truckers are forced to work and on the current procedure for calling drivers for a new "tour." Now they are forced to "baby-sit the phone," since failure to be available on call can be taken as a refusal to work and grounds for dismissal.

Since the pressures for concessions on

working conditions from industry and the government are so great, Teamster opposition leaders are distressed about the obstacles to rank and file protest. Even if there were a more militant mood among truckers, strikes after April 1 could be outlawed by the union. Fitzsimmons has notified the industry that they are simply revising the old contract, not "terminating" it. Thus, the old contract could stay in effect even after March 31, according to PROD staff attorney Steve Early.

However, there is some speculation that Fitzsimmons may call a strike of a few days as he did last time in order to let members "blow off steam," although such an action could escape his control.

Although the growth of reform pressures within the union has probably stiffened Teamster bargaining some, it is actually fairly easy for the leaders to sell the contract. Two-thirds of voting members have to oppose the contract to reject it. Also, each worker covered by the Mas-

ter Freight Agreement votes on the main text and all of the supplements. Thus a group of workers especially harmed by one rider can have their "no" votes swamped by members who are unaffected by that supplement.

More and more it appears that if Carter wins in this round of negotiations, the men and women who haul and heft goods traveling by truck will lose, in wages and benefits, in working conditions concessions or both.

How did they get where they are?

THE TEAMSTERS

by Steven Brill

Simon & Schuster, \$11.95

THE HOFFA WARS

by Dan E. Moldea

Paddington Press, \$10.95

By David Moberg

How did the Teamsters come to be what they are—the biggest, most powerful union in the country and one that reeks of corruption, violence, tyranny and abuse of so many of its members?

It's a contradictory institution in numerous ways—bringing high wages to some members and enforcing substandard pay for others (see Steve Askin's article on these pages), growing fast yet driving away potential members because of its reputation, winning frequently fervid loyalty among some members yet inspiring loathing among others, "delivering the goods" and "selling out" all at the same time.

These two recent books on the Teamsters give only fragmentary insight into the union. They concentrate on labyrinthine detective tales or suggestive but insufficiently probing personality profiles. Especially Moldea spins out remotely plausible conspiratorial connections. Moldea is more the partisan of the insurgents; Brill seems to hope for a liberal reformer from within the hierarchy.

Both give unfortunate short shrift to

ture, workers or business that might explain the Teamster phenomenon. Rather than treat Teamster corruption as part of a comprehensive history and sociology of the union, the criminality is heightened and loosely tied to the brief general history.

The commercial opportunity for each book was provided by the disappearance in 1975 of Jimmy Hoffa, former Teamster president, pardoned by Nixon from a 13-year federal sentence, preparing for a comeback challenge against the man who was supposed to keep his chair warm while he was in prison but who decided he liked the power—current Teamster president Frank Fitzsimmons.

Although the details differ slightly, both Moldea and Brill, relying heavily on FBI information, describe Hoffa's demise similarly: acting on orders from eastern Pennsylvania mob chief Russell Bufalino and mobster/murderer/Teamster international vice-president Tony Provenzano, several Teamster agent/gangsters killed Hoffa after he was picked up at a suburban Detroit restaurant by his "foster son," Charles O'Brien.

Murder theories diverge.

Their hypotheses about why the murder was necessary diverge more. Brill suggests that Provenzano felt that Hoffa was a threat to the widespread sweetheart contract racket he operated in New Jersey. Moldea implies that mob leaders linked to assassination of Kennedy and attempts on Castro needed to eliminate Hoffa, whom he tries—without convincing success—to implicate in those plots.

In overabundant detail, often through meandering plot lines and digressions, the two books re-establish the role of organized crime in the Teamsters. It crops up here in the scandalous lending practices of the Central States Pension Fund, there in the "organizing" tactics or the suppression of rank and file participation in the union, here again in the deals that enriched Teamster officials and denied members effective representation.

Yet the criminality is seemingly pervasive, oozing out of every pore of U.S. society, invading the White House with Nixon and friends (and touching other presidents as well), spreading throughout much of the business world that was theoretically the union's antagonist but often its willing and mutually profitable collaborator in crime.

Brill, in his profiles of a few Teamsters who try or tried to do a little better, and Moldea, in his valuable accounts of rank and file protest in the union, suggest the immensity of the obstacles facing any challenger to this system. Extensive formal power of top union officers, although not much different from most unions in this regard and decentralized into various regions under Fitzsimmons, is backed up by the willing resort to threats, beatings, bombings and murder. If a Jimmy Hoffa can be eliminated, who has a chance? With plenty of money from dues, bribes and skimming available, less determined opponents can be bought off as well.

As a result, the cynicism that is otherwise a dominant American trait—and the other side of naivete—flourishes in such an environment. It is a defensive reaction against hopelessness of ideals, a hard-boiled "realism" that views the world as a jungle in which the law is bite or get bit. Since Hoffa delivered some morsels for part of his union, he was admired by many despite—many even in part because of—his ability to brazenly rip off his share and more.

It is easy to see how the Teamsters were



Jimmy Hoffa greets the Teamsters at the election to vice-president of mobster Anthony Provenzano.

aided toward their corruption by outside influences: the mob had muscle that could be used in fighting the goons used by anti-union employers or in battling with competing unions for jurisdiction. Some of the small businesses organized by the Teamsters had heavy mob influence, and Teamster officials were soon cut in on business deals.

A style of internal union politics—what Brill dubs the "robber baron" approach—developed that was sufficiently ruthless and powerful to maintain power once it was obtained. (The metaphor suggests the kinship of Hoffa with another American hero of another class—John D. Rockefeller—except that he had his own private militia and didn't need to strike a deal with the mob.) If you played by the rather nasty rules and formed the right alliances, money and power—broken only partly by occasional stretches in the penitentiary—could be seized.

Like a famous city political machine, the Teamsters have come to be regarded grudgingly by many members as "the union that works," but the myth is no more—or less—true there than it was in Chicago. Ultimately, as both books indicate, the price of the corruption is an undemocratic union that does not defend members' interests because it doesn't have to and its leaders can lead easier, richer lives without the fight.

The Teamsters union has yielded other leaders: the much-acclaimed Trotskyist Farrell Dobbs, who led the Minneapolis Teamsters and developed the organizing strategy that gave the union its great leap forward; a variety of honest, hard-working local unionists who simply don't tangle with the crooks (like Ron Carey, profiled in Brill's book); rank and file dissidents who often fight nearly alone and quixotically for elementary decency and democracy.

But why are there not more of these rebels? Can fear explain it all—especially reinforced by isolation and a sense of futility? Perhaps. But the Teamsters, and much of the working class, fall victim to the amoral selfishness that is only lightly checked by countervailing forces in American culture. Popular democratic sentiments often are dissolved by money and acceptance of democracy and freedom as defined in the market, not in direct exercise of power.

Ultimately, like Hoffa's deal with the mob that boomeranged and killed him, it is a peculiar kind of selfishness that undermines in a Mephistophelean manner the real power, potential and satisfaction of the individual. The Teamsters thus reflect a classic American dilemma: power that begets more power yet has no purpose except a finally self-destructive, individualistic greed.

Blazing Star presents:

Holly Near/J.T. Thomas

Friday • April 6 • 8 p.m.

People's Church • 941 W. Lawrence

Chicago

General Admission \$4.50 or \$6 contribution

Wheelchair accessible

Daycare provided

Signed for hearing impaired

a
Women in Music
production



Advance Tickets at:

Northside

Gramophone Records
2663 N. Clark
472-3683

Round Records
6560 N. Sheridan
338-5762

Sounds Good Records
3155 N. Broadway
472-2114

Women in Music
mail order only
1810 W. Pratt
Chicago 60626

Evanston

Volume III Bookstore
2116 Central
491-1927

Whole Earth Center
Chicago at Dempster
491-9555

Oak Park

Val's Hall
723 1/2 South Blvd.
524-1004

Downtown
Jane Addams Bookstore
5 S. Wabash
728-0708

Southside

SpinIt Records
1444 E. 57th St.
MU4-1505

IN THE WORLD

MIDEAST PEACE PACT

The treaty advances, so do the doubts

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

AFTER AN EXHAUSTING, 30-hour debate, the Israeli parliament finally voted at 4 am March 22 to approve the Israel-Egypt peace treaty, agreed upon the previous week under heavy pressure from Jimmy Carter, by an 80 percent majority.

The televised debate was punctuated by constant heckling from the treaty's opponents: rightists warned that it would lead to establishment of a PLO-led state on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; leftists condemned the agreement for excluding such a state.

Supporters of the treaty also held both views. Premier Menachem Begin swore that autonomy in the territories would never lead to independence. But left-leaning deputies who voted with him interrupted Begin and others with assurances that a Palestinian state would result and expressed their approval.

Again, Begin's large majority was assured by overwhelming support from opposition Labor delegates. But most of them still expressed reluctance and scolded the government for giving away too much.

Barring new surprises, the treaty is scheduled to be signed on March 26 in Washington, and then in Cairo and Jerusalem.

But a durable peace is still not at hand. An indication of the next likely stage could be heard in the many remarks made during Begin's hours of speech-making directed at Egyptian prime minister Mustafa Khalil. The two are diametrically opposed on the issue of removing Israeli settlements from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, eventual withdrawal to the 1967 lines and the creation of a Palestinian state. Khalil reiterated during the Israeli debate that these must occur, and Begin restated his "never."

Negotiations to start in one month. One thing the two do agree on is that negotiations on the subject must start a month after the treaty is signed. So a breakdown soon is quite possible.

But even if Egypt abandons its claims on behalf of the Palestinians, as its Arab and other critics accuse it of having done

already, Israelis were reminded last week that the Palestinians themselves will not allow their claims to go unheard.

Disturbances broke out in towns and cities throughout the West Bank. Israeli forces clamped down hard, sometimes by declaring curfews and other times by forcing striking merchants to open their shops. Demonstrations by students were violently broken up, resulting in two deaths and many injuries.

Gun-wielding vigilantes from Jewish settlements in the territories also joined in the fray, their presence only mildly criticized by the official forces of law and order.

All week, Israeli radio broadcast saberrattling statements from PLO spokespeople abroad who threatened to disrupt Israeli and Egyptian targets. Grossly underplayed but still occasionally reported were other PLO statements offering peace if recognition and an independent state are achieved.

A flurry of diplomatic activities, apparently involved PLO attempts to persuade France to propose an amendment to UN Security Council Resolution 242 to make it possible for the Palestinians to accept it. The original 1967 wording phrases the Palestinian problem only in terms of refugees. The U.S. has stated that it will not recognize the PLO unless the latter accepts the 242 resolution.

In the occupied territories and zones, near unanimity continued to be voiced: no to autonomy as defined by Begin, yes to peace involving a PLO-led independent state alongside Israel. Statements I heard while visiting the Gaza Strip last week confirmed that the attitude is prevalent there as well as in the West Bank.

Autonomy first in Gaza?

In the course of the negotiations, Egypt had proposed that autonomy be implemented first in Gaza, which is geographically connected to the soon-to-be returned Sinai and separated from the West Bank by Israeli territory. Jerusalem's objection to the establishment of Egyptian political and police presence in the Strip, which was ruled by Cairo from 1948 until 1967, kept the idea out of the treaty.

But both sides may still hope that a compromise over Gaza will somehow absolve them from responsibility for other questions, especially if Jordan's King Hussein refuses to get involved in autonomy talks.



Israel Premier Menachem Begin arguing for the treaty in the Knesset.

Gaza mayor Rashad a'Shawwa, however, vetoed the idea. He insisted that "any resolution must include the Gaza Strip and the West Bank together. We are the same people, we live under the same conditions, we have the same aspirations."

A'Shawwa was angry with Cairo for allegedly misquoting a cable he sent there during Carter's Middle East tour. The message, respectful in tone, reminded Sadat of "our rights to establish our sovereign state," says a'Shawwa. But Radio Cairo left out that phrase and reported only that the mayor had expressed support for Sadat.

Yet, it could be considered significant that A'Shawwa was the only mayor from the occupied territories to send a polite message to Sadat recently. And his opposition to the autonomy plan was not outright objection, but based on the Israeli interpretation that rules out independence.

Even Dr. Haider Abdul Shafi, considered one of the Strip's more radical PLO spokespeople, (Mayor a'Shawwa was appointed by the Israeli authorities in 1975, and is considered close to the Jordanian monarchy), was far from absolute in his rejection.

If the agreement specified that, after five years, negotiations over the Gaza and the West Bank would "take into consideration the Palestinian right to statehood and self-determination, and take up the subject of Israeli settlements," then he would not oppose the settlement, he said.

Perhaps the relative quiet in Gaza—demonstrations there last week were the first in a long time and were milder than in the West Bank—or its closer historic attachment to Egypt, accounts for the difference in tone.

But I ended my visit without any illusions that the 375-square kilometer Gaza Strip's 400,000 residents, most of them refugees, would agree to autonomy as Begin defines it.

Constraints on the local leadership were dramatized when the Military Governor walked in uninvited, albeit politely, during my conversation with a'Shawwa, to negotiate the release of some 25 people jailed during a demonstration a few days before.

The big questions remaining.

The Palestine issue remains the major question mark, but other debates related to the peace treaty have begun to take shape in Israel even before the signing.

For the first time, polls revealed that most Israelis favor a defense pact and security guarantees supplied by the U.S., though it is not clear what will be offered. Opposition to the likely corollary of American bases on Israeli soil, however, is widespread through the political spectrum. Especially grating was the proposal, origin unknown, of a projected new air base in Israel's south, to be totally designed and built by American workers with American tools and materials.

A further question concerning the same base revolved around several thousand Arab bedouins, for whom the area is home. Government attempts to resettle the nomads in agricultural villages will likely be accelerated. The tribes say they are willing to give up much of their traditional land, but demand the same conditions given to Jewish settlers in the region, including water for irrigation. The government has upped its offer somewhat, but has also increased harassment of bedouins found allegedly in unauthorized locations. Flocks have been confiscated, and buildings bulldozed by the so-called "Green Patrol," a special police force run by ultra-hawk Ariel Sharon's ministry of agriculture.

Finally, in the midst of the peace campaign, public outcry against galloping price rises have escalated in recent weeks. The latest blow, a 25-30 percent increase in basic food, sparked a half-day general strike by the Histadrut Labor Federation. The response was wide but unenthusiastic. Israeli workers are fed up and discouraged by the government's warnings that further economic sacrifices will have to be made for peace, namely continued arming against the other Arabs, and redeployment behind the new-old border with Egypt.

Criticism of the government's economic policy has been expressed even in Begin's own party, but at the same time, neither Labor nor any other opposition, preoccupied with the debate over the Sinai settlement and Palestinian autonomy, has come up with a coherent alternative. ■



Women in the streets of Iran demanding rights threatened by the reinstitution of Islamic law brought out sympathy demonstrations around the world on March 15. In New York, Gloria Steinem, Betty Friedan, Grace Paley, Marlo Thomas, Florynce Kennedy and Bella Abzug spoke in defense of Iranian women's rights. Pictured above is Grace Paley. Demonstrations were held in a dozen American cities and in Paris, London, Rabat, Mexico City, and Addis Abbaba.

CANADA

Inco workers challenge giant

By Doug Smith

SUDBURY, ONTARIO

A MINING STRIKE AT SUDBURY, Ontario, that no one anticipated is turning into a confrontation over the role of the multinational corporation in Canada.

During negotiations with Inco Limited last summer no one believed Local 6500, United Steelworkers of America, would go out on strike. The company had a six-to-eight month stockpile of nickel and had already used that as an excuse for layoffs. Inco is the western world's largest nickel supplier.

But the company's attempt to stick the workers with one of the worst agreements ever offered in Canadian heavy industry was too much. At first, the company wanted the men to continue working without any increase at all. The provincial Conservative government intervened at this point and managed to get the amount raised to 10 cents an hour. At the same time, the company reduced the cost-of-living adjustment payable in November by six cents an hour.

Shortly before the contract was rejected, Stewart Cooke, the district director for USWA, phoned a Sudbury reporter from Atlantic City to urge the workers to accept the contract. Despite this, the union voted 61 percent against the contract.

Immediately after the strike vote was taken the former leader of the Ontario New Democratic Party, Stephen Lewis, used his newspaper column to denounce the strikers as a bunch of "left-wing Archie Bunkers" for going out on strike against a stockpile.

The NDP legislators and members of parliament from the Sudbury area reacted angrily to Lewis' statement and issued a statement of their own, that "the workers had a choice, strike now or sign an agreement, endure a layoff and go through the same struggle a year from now."

Money has not been the only issue in the strike that started on Sept. 15. Changes in contract language and pensions have also angered the workers. The company is asking for changes in the grievance procedure that would weaken the power of the shop stewards.

The company wanted the third stage grievances held in the plant rather than at the company headquarters where all the stewards are present once a month. They also wanted to reduce the number of stewards who could be present at the second and third stage of a grievance.

The union also wanted a better pension plan that would induce more men to retire, thus saving the jobs of the younger workers who are facing the prospects of layoffs.

Much of the workers' resolve and bitterness comes from the mass layoffs in October 1977. It was then that the company announced it was laying off or ter-



Smelters at INCO Limited, being struck by USWA Local 6500.

minating 2800 positions in Sudbury. Appeals were made by the workers to the federal and provincial government but, as local president Dave Patterson said, it became clear "Inco is boss. No one has the guts to touch it. They can do what they want. We're the only ones with the guts to take it on."

The layoffs outraged many Canadian workers, since they took place at a time when Inco was expanding its overseas nickel operations with financing from the Canadian government. Inco's subsidiary in Guatemala, Exmibal, has a cosy deal

with the government there that gives it a 40-year concession for a 150-square mile area for \$20,000 a year.

The leaders of the opposition to the deal have since been assassinated or driven into exile. According to a recent book on Inco, *The Big Nickel*, by Jamie Swift, employees at the Exmibal mine will earn 96 cents an hour. Part of the Exmibal project was funded by a \$20.75 million low-interest loan from the Federal Export Development Corporation.

The corporation has also lent Inco \$57.25 million to finance an Inco mining project in Indonesia. Amnesty International in the past has expressed concerns that political prisoners are being forced to work in Indonesian mining projects.

Both the Guatemalan and Indonesian projects are part of Inco's development strategy of diversifying its sources and exporting jobs to low wage areas.

One of the most important developments of the strike was the establishment of a Wives Supporting the Strike Committee. It has always been a part of the Sudbury mythology that a back-to-work rally attended by strikers' wives and sponsored by the Sudbury mayor led to a humiliating defeat in a 1958 strike against Inco. To avoid that sort of split the wives have organized this year.

Because social tensions in such a remote mining town tend to increase during a strike, the group has planned numerous support activities. These have included a two-day Christmas party where 1000 toys were given out. They have held pot-luck suppers and distributed a comic book called "What Is a Strike?"

Support for the strike from unions across the country has been strong. The workers get \$25 a week strike pay, plus \$5 if they're married and \$3 for each child. The British Columbia Federation of Labour has given them 40 tons of herring. Over 2000 turkeys were supplied by the Retail, Wholesale Department Store Union in Sudbury. And USWA's longtime rival, the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, is giving \$10,000 a month to the strike fund.

There has been some concern that the international has not got behind the strike as much as it could. Some have suggested that Local president Dave Patterson's support for Ed Sadlowski is one of the reasons for the lack of support. Recently Steel signed a contract at Inco's other major mine in Canada at Thompson, Manitoba, that was considerably higher than what is being offered in Sudbury. Some workers in Thompson said they felt the Sudbury workers were being stabbed in the back. The settlement hurt morale but the sentiment is still strong to stay out as long as it takes. As Patterson points out, the nickel stockpile is almost depleted and Inco has no stockpile of copper, cobalt or gold.

Doug Smith is Prairie Bureau chief for Canadian University Press.

Levesque remains mystery

By Malcolm Reid

THE PARTI QUEBECOIS HAS been in power in Quebec for just over two years. November 1976 was the date of the big upset in which an independence movement won the provincial elections and began its attempt to make Quebec a country of its own.

What are the prospects for Quebec independence two years later? What are the prospects for keeping the Canadian confederation together? And what, in all this, can be seen of the social reform the independence movement promised?

Rene Levesque is by now in an odd position as the leader of an anti-colonial movement, one that has not often occurred since such movements began challenging the blocs and empires: an independence movement takes power, governs the disputed territory for two years without making its move for independence and without being crushed or jailed. It is inevitable that a problem of credibility arises.

The problem is that Levesque was not elected on a strictly independence platform. And he won only by a plurality. So he is now trying to build a majority from that slender victory.

He made only a general promise to Quebec's citizens for a vote on independence. He still has much discretion about how he will pose the question—with strong wording that stands little chance of passing or weak ones that have a better chance. The cabinet is playing around with these tricky choices now. Behind closed doors.

The mystery is how the phrasing will link sovereignty for Quebec, one of the Parti Quebecois tenets, with economic association with Canada, the other tenet. The exact date of the referendum is also still a mystery—sometime in the next year and a half.

What are the PQ's achievements in two years in power? It has made a name for itself as a good government. These have not

been two years of panic; racial incidents have not taken place in the streets; Ottawa has not managed to make the Levesque government look foolish or oppressive.

This resulted from the PQ's biggest precise achievement, its language legislation, a Charter of the French Language that shocked many groups: immigrants who'd prefer English schooling and assimilation to French schooling and assimilation; the stolid Quebec English middle class who'd been used to being left alone in West Montreal with their own institutions and the biggest hunk of the economic cake; Inuits (or Eskimos, as they no longer wish to be called) who saw their traditional links with English Canada being broken.

This was the anti-separatists' big chance to destabilize the government, and the cartoons of Cultural Development Minister Camille Laurin as a Robespierre of Frenchification did come thick and fast for a while. But the law was basically moderate, continuing English schools excluding only new immigrants. The spiral of hatred did not take hold. Now the first school year under the new rules has begun without riots, and the time of acceptance seems here. Also, "steak house" in downtown Montreal is becoming "maison du bifteck."

But the Parti Quebecois has not been able to maintain the feeling of exalted changes in the works that was in the air the night of Nov. 15 two years ago.

For those of us who hoped for a big push toward a more egalitarian social order in the French corner of the Americas, it is disappointing that the streets, the lunchcounters, the bus stations are calm. People are not talking politics much. The attitude seems to be: the government is cooking something up for us and will unwrap it like a package.

The government has passed some reform legislation.

•An anti-scab law that, though audacious on paper, has not always delivered in practice.

•A public auto insurance act, taking its lead from those of the mid-socialist governments that ruled in Western Canada for the past ten years.

•Enabling legislation for the nationalization of Asbestos Corporation, one of the American-owned multinationals.

While none of this legislation resulted from large public action, there is political activity in Quebec that the PQ's ivory-tower style has left to others. A whole crop of small Maoist movements have arisen that have, surprising to someone familiar with the Quebec left, pulled away from independence, speaking of self-determination as a right that is not necessarily a good thing to carry out. These groups are now moving in on day-care movements, unions, peoples' clinics, consumerism, all the new left strivings from the '60s, where the imaginative Quebec blend of national pride and socialism was alive. They haven't taken over, but they've become the most persistent ideological voice.

Now the only stronghold of the left-nationalism that was the rule throughout the Quebec left in 1968 are the municipal oppositions in Quebec City and Montreal. They have considerably broken down English-French barriers, but by their local nature they haven't much to say about a fusion of independence and socialism.

Federalists are still the majority by all appearances. They're putting their hope in Claude Ryan, a crusty old liberal from the excellent newspaper, *Le Devoir*, that for 50 years hovered close to the independence position without ever adopting it. He has integrity, the lack of which was what got the old Liberal machine beaten by the Parti Quebecois.

But is his integrity still intact after his quick conversion to this party whose hackishness he had often criticized? And his Catholic fervor may not be helpful now that Quebec has moved so far away from the Church. He may be able to get through to the working-class districts with a populist oratory stronger than Levesque's, but we don't know yet.

USSR/CHINA

Medvedev tells of Soviets' China fears



Roy Medvedev is a Soviet citizen living in Moscow. He is the foremost Marxist critic of Soviet society within the dissident movement, of which he is a prominent leader. Widely read in the West, his numerous books and articles on political and historical subjects include *LET HISTORY JUDGE: THE ORIGINS AND CONSEQUENCES OF STALINISM* (Knopf, 1972) and *ON SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY* (Knopf, 1975). Here he probes Soviet public opinion on China and the Chinese invasion of Vietnam.

By Roy Medvedev

©1979 IN THESE TIMES

For the first time since 1945 the Soviet people are seriously alarmed by the possibility of another major war that could be even more serious and devastating than World War II. The Chinese army's deep incursion into Vietnam, which only recently had signed a defense treaty with the USSR, immediately made every other world event of secondary importance to the Soviet people. War with China, the possibility of which had been theorized for many years as the most serious threat to the nation's existence, suddenly became almost a reality—as the obligation to an ally.

The military threat that China posed to the USSR has dominated all official propaganda connected with our country's security for many years. Other countries—West Germany, the U.S.—considered the greatest dangers during the "Cold War" period, never, even during such serious conflicts as the Cuban crisis in the autumn of 1963, provoked such concern on every level of society as that which has constantly grown after the first serious armed clashes on the Sino-Soviet border in 1969.

This concern was reinforced not only by the Soviet press, which saw aggression in every internal and external act of the Chinese, but also by the round-the-clock Russian language broadcasts from China. To Soviet propaganda the Chinese have responded even more sharply, promising the inevitable demise of Soviet "revisionism" and the Kremlin clique.

The "Chinese" threat determined not only the shape of official propaganda. No small number of dissident pronouncements tied their proposals to the reality of war with China.

A. Amalrik, in his book *Will the Soviet Union Sur-*

vive until 1984? predicted such a war by 1979 or 1980. A. Solzhenitsyn, in his famous "Letter to the Leaders of the Soviet Union," sent to rulers of the USSR in September 1973, argued the grave urgency of intensive Siberian and northeastern development and settlement precisely on the grounds that war with China was inevitable.

Although the threat of war with China was an obsession of almost every group in the population, to most of the people, it was not an imminent danger. Some of the older generation, myself included, who are familiar with history, were confident that the death of Mao Tse-tung and the return to more modern economic and international politics would inevitably relax the Sino-Soviet dispute.

It was natural to suppose that the end of the "cult of personality" would lead to the same changes that had characterized the USSR after the death of Stalin. Over the short span of three years, from March 1953 to March 1956, the Soviet Union secured an end to the Korean War, stopped the bitter quarrel with Yugoslavia, carried out destalinization and liquidated the Stalinist Gulag with its millions of prisoners, normalized its relations with West Germany and began a rapprochement with the U.S. Those actions provoked the then sharp criticism in China of "revisionism" and served to begin the Sino-Soviet dispute.

But there were many signs that China, too, after the death of Mao, had begun to move along the same path. After the liquidation of the "gang of four" and the end of "anti-imperialist" propaganda, the Chinese quickly cut off the entire ideological barrage of printed and radio criticism aimed at the USSR. No more did we hear of "revisionism," "the renaissance of capitalism," and "collusion with the U.S." The ideological basis of the dispute disappeared, and one could have expected that there logically would follow steps toward the normalization of relations not only with the U.S., Japan, and Western Europe, but with China's closest neighbor—the USSR.

II

Despite logic, this did not happen. The reverse occurred. What would have been possible for a small country turned out to be politically and strategically diffi-

cult for this gigantic power, constituting one-fourth the population of the globe. The balance of world forces gave China an unavoidable choice between either rapprochement with the USSR along with continued confrontation with the U.S., or rapprochement with Japan, the U.S. and the West along with continued confrontation with the USSR—no longer an ideological confrontation but rather one grounded in power politics, a struggle over hegemonism.

Rapprochement with the Soviet Union could not, in any case, have been a rapid process. Rapprochement with the West promised quicker economic and political advantages. But against this background arose the recent conflict. It will, doubtless, retard the projected rapprochement of China with the West, and especially with Japan. And although the war between China and Vietnam provoked serious unease, even fear, at almost all levels of Soviet society, its political, economic and strategic consequences have been negative for China, and positive for the international position of the USSR.

III

The Western press covered the Sino-Vietnamese conflict as a local border clash, attributing to China no serious intentions. Any war attracts people's attention, and it was natural that the USSR regarded this conflict particularly seriously and sensitively.

The thinking and liberal intelligentsia in the USSR has long ceased to consider the superficially propagandistic Soviet newspapers as a serious source of information about world events. In times of crisis touching their own fate, be it the Hungarian uprising, the occupation of Czechoslovakia, riots in Poland, or war in the Mideast, people tune their shortwave radios to Western Russian-language broadcasts in the evening, without fail. Jamming has never been very successful and in the past few years it has ceased. From these broadcasts, it is possible to learn considerably more than from Soviet papers.

The tradition of trusting the free Western press continued after the outbreak of hostilities in the border regions of Vietnam. But this time, the "pro-Western" circles in the USSR were disappointed. To the questions troubling everyone about the course of the war, Western broadcasts gave practically no answers. There were only sparse, incidental pieces of information, an absence of operational military details and completely contradictory judgments. At the same time, in the Soviet press, the Sino-Vietnamese conflict has dominated every other event in the world, with operational communiques, details of battles, articles and commentaries like those impatiently awaited and read during the tragic years of World War II.

Needless to say, the sympathies of the Soviet people were universally with Vietnam. Of all the Soviet Union's allies, Vietnam enjoys the greatest popularity, with Cuba following closely behind. Vietnam and Cuba entered the Soviet bloc as a result of independent revolutionary processes, in contrast with the Eastern European countries, first occupied in the course of war by the Soviet Army in 1944-45, and in the cases of Romania and Hungary, having participated in the war against the USSR on the side of Germany.

The first days of the conflict, Feb. 17-21, were the most alarming to the Soviet people. The limited aims of the Chinese, to teach Vietnam a "good lesson," were not taken seriously and were not discussed in print. The papers wrote of the beginning of a serious war, the unexpected attack on a neighboring country by huge formations of the Chinese army along the entire length of the Sino-Vietnamese border. Vietnam had been caught by surprise, with only border units, defensive detachments, and local militia in the battle zones. The regular Vietnamese army was not deployed in the area of attack.

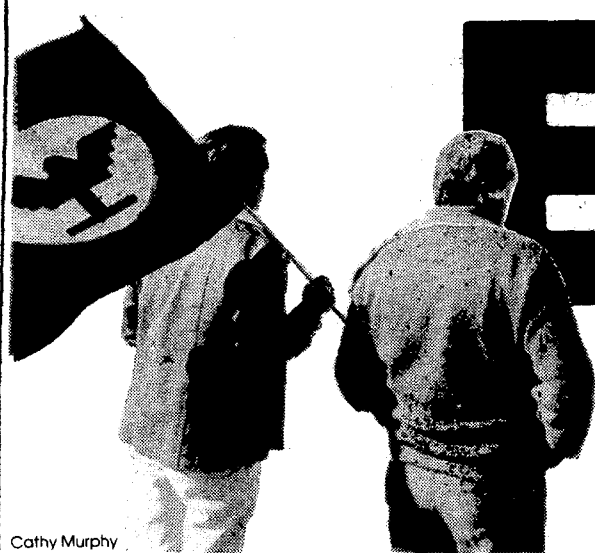
In the areas of the first battles, there were almost no Western correspondents. There was only sparse information from Peking and Hanoi. But Soviet journalists and photographers were immediately admitted directly into the fighting areas, and communications from the front ran in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* "from our correspondents," giving details of battles for inhabited localities, hilltops and one or another reinforced position.

Chinese divisions were described as moving on Lao Cai and Lang Son. Casualty figures were given. On one day (Feb. 19), for example, the Soviet press reported "about 100 enemy tanks were destroyed, about 4000 Peking soldiers put out of action," "hostile air attacks deflected." The impression was created that the main thrust of the attack was toward Hanoi and Haiphong, a danger that would certainly provoke Soviet intervention. About this, almost no one had any illusions.

IV

Surveying public opinion in the Soviet Union is impossible, but determining the popular mood is not very difficult. The meaning of a major war is something few adults can forget, and in a country with obligatory military service, many families have their own children or

Continued on page 18.



Cathy Murphy

ET TU, CÉSAR

Farm organizers outside California
the United Farm Workers.

In the desert 20 miles northwest of Phoenix, Ariz., on the road to Los Angeles, is Del Webb's Sun City. Sun City is one of the growing number of comfortable, conservative retirement communities surrounding Phoenix. No one under 50 buys a house there. Children are forbidden. It is safe, clean, well watered, affluent—and white.

Beyond the white cinderblock fence that encapsulates and protects Sun City is the dry bed of the Agua Fria River and on the opposite bank the Mexican barrio town known as El Mirage.

For many Mexicans living there, life in the U.S. has indeed been a mirage. It is home away from home for a large number of the workers who harvest citrus, canteloupes, and cotton in central Arizona; it compares bitterly with the Anglo wealth across the riverbed.

Here, also, are the headquarters of two organizations, both of which claim to represent the farm workers of Arizona: the United Farm Workers and the Maricopa County Organizing Project. The existence of these rival unions is indicative of a growing civil war in the farm labor movement that overshadows even the major agricultural strike now occurring in California.

In the last few years there has been a mass exodus of veteran UFW organizers from Cesar Chavez's union. Uniformly, these UFW dissidents have charged Chavez with one-man rule and intolerance of opposing views within the organization, and with suffocating farm worker organizing outside of California.

The challenge to Chavez's authority has ignited a little-noted upsurge in independent farm worker organizations in New Jersey, Florida, Ohio, Idaho and Washington. The most significant threats to Chavez's dominance of the farm labor movement, however, are in Texas and Arizona.

In the early 1970s, Chavez sent Antonio Orendain, a top UFW official in California, to Texas to establish the UFW among the 80,000 Texas farm workers. Years of UFW-ordered inaction followed. Finally, three years ago, Orendain left the UFW, taking many of the top Texas UFW organizers with him, and formed the independent Texas Farm Workers Union.

Alfredo Avila, a long-time Texas Farm Worker organizer and a former UFW official, explained some of the reasons for the split: "Cesar Chavez doesn't believe anyone else has a right to organize farm workers. He thinks he, and only he, is the farm labor movement. He wants to determine everything. When we try to get money from a foundation, they tell us the UFW says we don't represent farm workers."

"The UFW is the only union I know where there is no concept of a union local. Everything comes from Cesar. So, we left."

The civil war in the fields of Arizona has followed a similar pattern. Seven years ago, Gustavo Gutierrez founded the UFW in Arizona. Gutierrez charged that not only was he given little authority, but

he was ordered not to use the authority he did have. "The UFW is very centralized," he added, "very dictatorial."

Finally, two years ago, Gutierrez split with the UFW, taking several UFW organizers with him, and founded the Maricopa County Organizing Project to work among the farm laborers of central Arizona. Today, the Organizing Project has 20 organizers, including four with UFW experience, and has established itself firmly as Arizona's leading farm worker organization.

Anywhere from 75 to 80 percent of all agricultural workers in the Southwest are undocumented Mexican nationals working illegally in this country. The Organizing Project has concentrated its energies among these "illegals," which is one of the reasons for the growing militancy of undocumented aliens.

POVERTY IN THE ORANGE GROVES

In early February MCOP signed the very first labor contract between an American employer and undocumented workers. This contract was signed with Goldmar Inc.'s Arrowhead Ranch, a citrus farm of over 6000 acres near Phoenix. One of the two owners of Goldmar is Robert Goldwater, brother of Republican Senator Barry Goldwater.

Arthur Martori, the other owner, said that he decided to negotiate with the Organizing Project-sponsored ranch committee, which is composed of illegal aliens, because there was no way to avoid it. "Everyone in the Southwest has undocumented workers," he said. "This is probably true of most of the West as well. We recognize that these people are pretty much poverty-stricken and the growers recognize that there has to be a change."

Yet this new growers' attitude would not have happened without the tireless agitation of the Organizing Project. Lupe Sanchez, executive director of the Organizing Project, outlined some of the "poverty stricken" conditions the growers still impose on their workers.

"UFW workers in California are making \$3.50 to \$4.50 per hour," he said, "while we're making \$1 per hour. We're living in poverty here in Arizona."

These wages mean, he explained, that "there is no one in the local work force picking citrus. The low pay means only undocumented aliens are harvesting America's vegetables."

But, besides the low pay, there are the wretched living conditions of the workers. Most Arizona farm workers live in orange crate shacks among the citrus groves—if they're lucky. Many live nowhere, but merely sleep in the fields, covered by a thin sheet of plastic to keep off the dew. Frequently, the workers are flooded out at irrigation time, or sprayed with insecticide from planes. And constantly there is the threat of raids from the Border Patrol.

Initially, the workers merely demanded advance notice of irrigation or spraying or simply blankets to sleep on in the fields. However, their confidence has grown, along with their demands. The recently signed Goldmar contract goes far towards the institution of better living and working conditions and improved wages.

Paradoxically, while the Arizona growers are becoming willing to negotiate with the Organizing Project, their success is threatened by the UFW. "The UFW has continually attempted to sabotage us," said Lupe Sanchez. "They are out there now in the fields telling the Goldmar workers that if they continue to work with us, the UFW will make sure they are deported. In addition, they have threatened Goldmar with a boycott of his produce if he honors the contract. They try their best to break our strikes and demoralize the workers we've organized."

When asked why the UFW opposed the Organizing Project to the point of strike-breaking, Sanchez explained, "Because we're doing the job they should have done years ago. We have a service center, a food bank, English classes, immigration counseling, and we organize effective strikes—none of which the UFW is willing or able to do in Arizona."

"Because of this," he continued, "the UFW has not been able to penetrate our citrus organization. All the workers are undocumented. Many of our own organizers are undocumented and they go into the fields and live with the workers, which the UFW won't do. Besides, these new arrivals from Mexico know very little about the UFW. United Farm Worker organizers are instructed to use Cesar's name as much as possible, like a magic charm. But, when these organizers go into the fields and say Cesar wants you to do this, and this, and this, the workers just look at them and ask, 'Who's Cesar?'"

"You see, these workers are mainly from southern Mexico and you can't appeal to them on the basis of Cesar's name. You can only appeal to them on the basis of what you win for them. Out of the 300 workers at Goldmar, the UFW was only able to sign up three or four. We produce; the UFW doesn't."

Lupe Sanchez started working for the UFW in 1970 as an organizer in Mexico and California. However, most of his UFW experience was in Arizona. He left the UFW a year ago to join the Organizing Project. He explained that there were two reasons why he left: lack of local control and opposition to the policy of "pacification" of the work force.

"Cesar runs the whole UFW by himself," he said, "and anyone working in the UFW has to understand that. There's a UFW office just down the street. But that local has no control over the operation of the office, over dues, over strikes, or over field and office personnel decisions."

"A good UFW organizer isn't allowed to stay in any one area too long. Cesar doesn't want anyone outside of himself to have any followers. So, they will send you to a specific area for about a year, then, on a couple of days' notice, they pull you out and send you to a new area. Cesar makes all the decisions, no matter how insignificant. Nothing happens without his OK."

But, perhaps Sanchez would have remained with the UFW, even under the conditions. "But the UFW did nothing for Arizona workers," he said. "You have to understand that the UFW is not a national organization—it's a California organization. This present strike in the Imperial Valley, for instance, is just the start of a California strike. It'll move up north around Salinas soon and in June it'll hit the grape harvest, but it won't move outside the state of California."

"The resources of the UFW are completely tied up in California. It's a state and they have a lot of problems there. They may not be able to expand outside of California for another five or six years, so they aren't able to help you can't depend on them."

WHY CALIFORNIA

It has been the strategy of the United Farm Workers Union, according to UFW spokesperson Marc Grossman, to build a base of unionized workers in California, even if that has meant that organizing efforts in other states have had to suffer.

"We're centered in California, because it's the only state that has a law protecting the rights of farmworkers to unionize," explains Grossman. "In the four years since Gov. Jerry Brown signed the Agricultural Labor Relations Act, our union has organized more than 100,000 workers under union contracts. We are building an organizational and financial base to support the union when it goes to other states."

Despite their California emphasis, the UFW over the years has been active in organizing farmworkers in several states, notably Arizona, Texas, Florida and Washington. In these places unionizing efforts are ten years behind California, with the UFW or any organizing group being forced to employ boycotts and strikes just to gain recognition as a union.

In Arizona, which borders California and draws upon much of the same migratory labor pool, the job of organizing farmworkers has been particularly difficult. For more than six years a state law was in effect that prohibited most forms

of union organizing in the field. Officials who came to Arizona to organize were risking a year in jail and a \$50 fine.

Nevertheless, UFW attorneys filed suit to overturn that law and in late 1977 a three-judge panel at Phoenix declared it unconstitutional. The growers appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, where the case is still pending.

Even while the law was in effect, UFW supported unionizing efforts in Arizona. Last year, UFW president Cesar Chavez was jailed by an Arizona judge after leading a strike against a ranch. In late 1977 the Maricopa County Organizing Project called an onion strike, the UFW joined the Grossman—sent almost 100 organizers to the fields.

"We sympathize with other growers who are organizing elsewhere," Grossman said. "We understand their urgency. Cesar says he would be impatient too, but it took 13 years of hard work in California before we got a law. I don't intend to wait that long in other states, but it will take some time."

Grossman says that the current California lettuce strike is a key part of the strategy for bringing the union to other states. The UFW is striving to set a precedent by winning wage increases that will bring farmworkers closer to the mainstream of the American economy.

—Larry Remer

R?

It no help from By Eric Davin.

"But the point is, they don't want anyone else to do anything in the meantime! Every time we asked the UFW when they were going to start organizing Arizona, we were told, 'in a year, maybe two.' They've been telling us that since 1970."

"The UFW's main goal throughout the country right now is to contain as many organizations and pacify as many workers as they can until they get their own organization into a position of dominance. When they hear of a strike in Texas, they send out organizers immediately to tell the workers to cool it until Cesar gets ready to do something."

UPSURGE OF ORGANIZATION

"But the outcry is tremendous. The workers are begging for organization. They're even organizing themselves. There's a great upsurge of self-organization, just like in the '30s, so the UFW is having a hard time cooling them out."

Sanchez explained, however, that in the beginning relations were cordial between the UFW and the Organizing Project. Chavez gave his full support to the fledgling organization on the condition that it not mount any major strikes.

However, Chavez expressed irritation with the Organizing Project in early 1978 when it began organizing the citrus and onion workers. The Organizing Project called a strike against two ranches and all 600 involved workers went out. But the mood among onion workers was volatile and the strike quickly spread out of control. By the end of the first day, 3000 workers at other onion ranches also struck and clamored for organizers. A limited strike planned for a few weeks quickly escalated into a major strike which lasted 80 days. "Chavez supported us initially," Sanchez said, "because he didn't think we could do much. But MCOP surprised him by taking the whole industry out on strike."

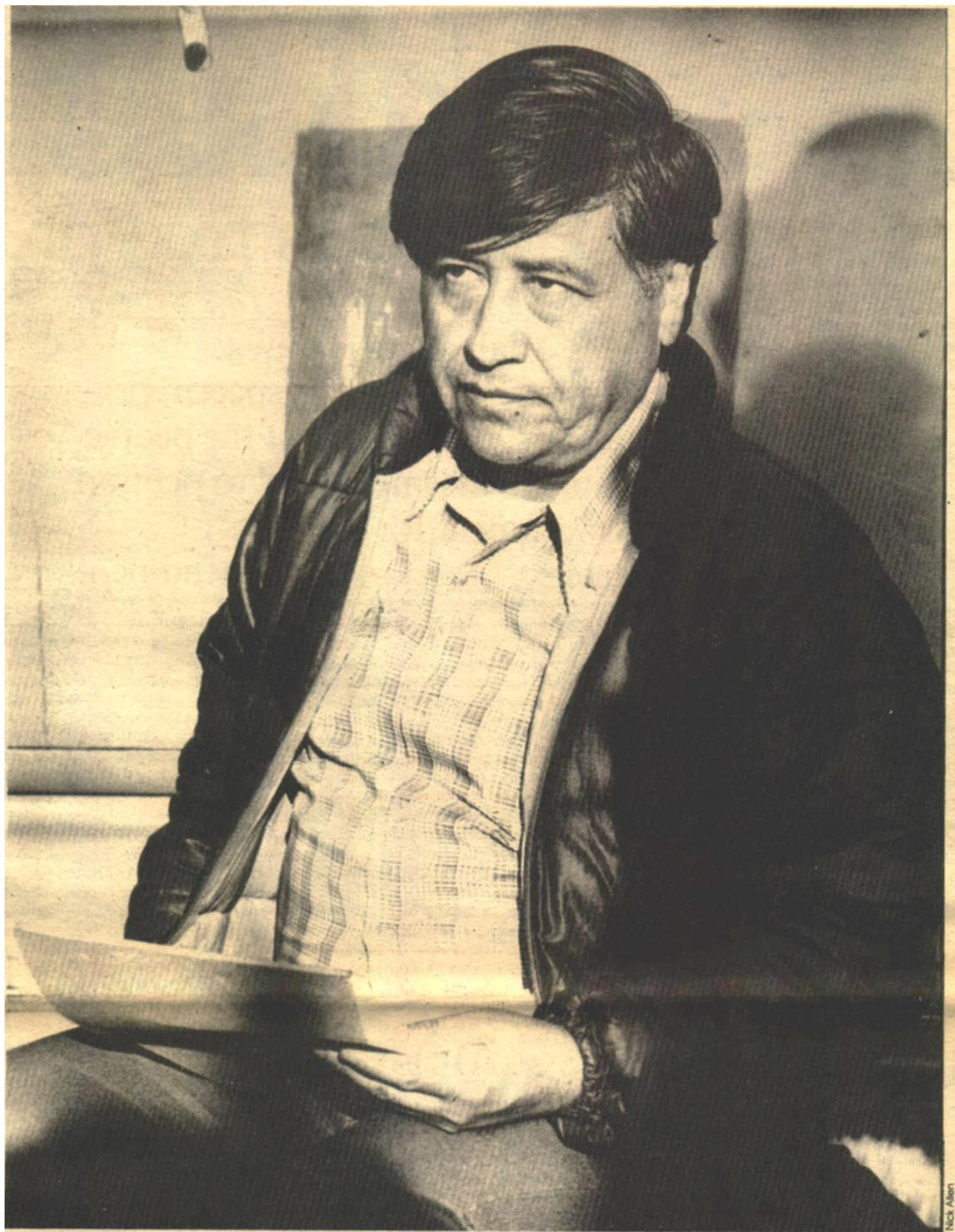
By February 1978 Chavez was angry. A strong farm worker organization was developing independent of the UFW. Workers were flocking to the Organizing Project instead of the UFW. He responded by ordering the Organizing Project out of the El Mirage UFW office from which it operated.

Then, Chavez decided to take control of the onion strike. After a series of meetings with the UFW, Sanchez said, the Project decided that they would pull their own organizers out of the fields and turn over the committees they'd established to the UFW.

"The UFW then sent three organizers to oversee the strike," Sanchez said. "We already had ten in the field and they were swamped. So we met again with the UFW and told them three organizers just couldn't handle a strike of this size. They promised that in a few weeks another seven would arrive from California. They never arrived. They never intended to send more organizers."

"Instead," said Sanchez, "the UFW launched one of its classic pacification programs. They told the workers that they had to wait for two or three years until the union was ready to come in. The time wasn't right, they said. Until then, cool it. They killed the strike."

"That was the point at which relations between us really started to deteriorate."



"They see us as enemies to be destroyed now."

One current example of UFW hostility toward the Organizing Project, Sanchez said, was the sabotaging of a \$95,000 funding proposal the Project sent to the Campaign for Human Development Fund in Washington, D.C. "We thought we had it," he said, "until Cesar sent them a telegram asking them not to fund us since we were in competition with the UFW. Cesar's name is magic with the liberals and that killed it for us. He's done the same thing to the Texas Farm Workers Union. He kills funding for them by telling the funding agencies the TFWU doesn't really represent any farm workers."

LOOKING FOR DEMOCRACY

Sanchez maintained, however, that the Organizing Project was only a competitor to the UFW because the UFW wanted it that way. "Relations between us now are tense," he acknowledged, "but we don't feel hostile to them. We've offered our assistance to their picket lines along with our full resources. But they've refused all such assistance."

"We still believe that there is basically one union and that's the UFW. But, there has to be some democracy in the union, some local direction of the struggle. What we have proposed to the UFW is that they set up a local board of directors to run operations in this state. We asked that a percentage of the fundraising efforts, the

donations and membership dues, be kept here in the state where it is raised. We don't feel that all the membership dues should go to California to build the organization there. Everything shouldn't be run out of La Paz, Cal."

"We don't like the idea of rival unions in the same area. We feel there should be a single, national union of agricultural workers. But we want that union to be a democratic union with local control."

"The tension between us and the UFW is going to increase dramatically in the next four or five months because of our recent successes with the growers. But Cesar will have to realize, eventually, that he can't run Florida from La Paz. Cesar's dealing with a changed situation now. He can't be a one-man show anymore."

"And Cesar's pacification program will fail. He can't kill all the strikes, all the organizations. He must eventually negotiate with the various independent farm worker organizations springing up around the country. Whether these organizations evolve into full-fledged farm worker unions, as has already happened in Texas, or evolve into viable locals of the UFW is up to Cesar."

"In any case," Sanchez continued, "these independent organizations are good for the movement. What would really harm the movement is not the existence of rival organizing groups, but for it to continue as it is now. The UFW's pacification program is much more damaging than the existence of rival organizations could ever be."

"If an organization can't be reformed, it becomes corrupt. There can be no reform of the UFW from within. There's

just too much control for dissent to emerge inside the UFW. It has to come from outside pressures, like ours. For example, even if you're a state director for the UFW, you aren't allowed to issue press releases or even talk to the press, like I'm doing with you. If you have any questions about UFW activities or policy, you have to call La Paz."

"All we ask of the UFW," Lupe Sanchez concluded, "is to let us do our job. Give us some local control and we'll be happy to fly the UFW flag."

A few blocks up El Mirage's Alto Street from the Organizing Project is the central Arizona headquarters of the United Farm Workers. A visit to their office verified at least one criticism against the UFW by Sanchez. There was no one in Arizona, it seemed, who could answer any questions from the press. I was given the telephone number of UFW national headquarters in La Paz, Cal., and told to call them if I had questions.

And while the California agricultural strike is occupying most of Cesar Chavez's time, he is actively concerned about the state of the farm worker movement in other parts of the Southwest. In an effort to combat the growing strength and militancy of the Texas Farm Workers Union, the first convention of the Texas UFW was held on Feb. 25 in order to re-establish the UFW in that state.

As keynote speaker at the San Juan, Texas, convention, Cesar Chavez told the UFW rank and file that they must by no means go on strike in Texas. "This organization is not ready for a strike," he said. "It would be suicide and everybody knows that."

EDITORIAL

Government H-bombs free press

The government's attempt to prohibit publication by *The Progressive* of a story on "The H-Bomb Secret" has less to do with anxiety over nuclear weapons proliferation than over the proliferation of legitimate information about the nuclear weapons industry among the American people (see page 3).

If the government succeeds in imposing prior press censorship for the first time in American history, it will be a dangerous precedent for restricting freedom of the press on ground of a spurious "national security."

In 1971, the courts speedily and unequivocally overruled the Nixon administration's attempt at prior censorship of the Pentagon Papers. In that case, two press titans, the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, were involved. Will Carter succeed where Nixon failed, now that the object of censorship is a small magazine?

The government contends that this case is different, because if not suppressed, the story will reveal the secret of producing the H-Bomb. On its face, the contention is absurd. It is reminiscent of phony charges made over 25 years ago against the Rosenbergs—that they had given away non-existent "secrets."

As *The Progressive* editor Erwin Knoll points out, the story's author, Howard Morland, "looked at no classified documents. ... If it were really vital information, the ease with which Morland ac-

**Congress shall make no law...
abridging the freedom of speech, or
of the press; or the right of the people
peaceably to assemble, and to petition
the Government for a redress of
grievances.**

—First Amendment

quired it would constitute a scandal of catastrophic dimensions. Anything Morland learned could be learned more quickly... by any reasonably competent spy... especially if the spy possesses a library card."

The story is not, as the government and a conveniently panicked media have scarily trumpeted, about "How to Build an H-Bomb," nor about how it works. It is about the unnecessary and repairable secrecy with which the government shrouds nuclear weapons production and deployment, not to protect "national security," but to withhold from Americans the information they need to judge intelligently strategic policy and military spending. The real "secret" of the H-Bomb story, as Knoll says, is "that much of the information the government calls 'secret' is

readily available to any diligent reporter."

Morland's story, according to Knoll, informs the public on the dangers of nuclear materials to the environment, to the health and safety of nuclear workers, and to those living near nuclear installations. It provides the public with facts it needs to judge decisions on arms control and nuclear testing. And it informs the taxpayer on the enormous expense of the nuclear weapons industry. So long as this information is kept the monopoly of the government, the military, the nuclear industry and approved "experts," they will remain free to make weapons policy without public debate.

This is the "secrecy" the government seeks to preserve by censoring *The Progressive*. This motive also underlies the administration's bizarre attempt to

censor Morland's affidavits submitted to the court showing the unclassified, non-secret sources of information for his story. In this case, the journalist is entirely forthcoming; it is the government that is seeking to force the journalist into maintaining the confidentiality of his sources.

What Albert Einstein said of the atomic bomb applies here: "There is no secret and there is no [military] defense"; an informed citizenry is "our only security and our only hope." Ironically, at the centennial of Einstein's birth, Knoll comments, "the government of the United States is trying to protect nonexistent secrets and keep its citizenry uninformed."

Knoll is right in saying that if the government "can make its silly secrecy case stick against us, it will be able to make it stick against anyone." The human-rights Carter administration will have achieved government powers of press suppression that Carter as a candidate criticized Nixon for seeking.

Claiming an unfavorable "judicial climate," some "fair-weather friends of free speech," Knoll reports, have urged *The Progressive* not to press its case. "They suggest that we should voluntarily surrender our freedom so that theirs won't be jeopardized." We completely agree with Knoll's reply:

"Rights exist only when they can be exercised. If there is no First Amendment for *The Progressive*, there is no First Amendment for anyone."

Military taxes blitz American cities

At a time when taxes and "government spending" stand at the top of the public enemies list, the Pentagon, which accounts for 24 cents out of every dollar spent by the federal government, still lives a charmed and coddled life.

Continually rising military spending is theoretically justified as necessary to protect the American way of life from foreign enemies. But the Pentagon's spending blitz in practice is devastating American cities, especially in the Northeast and Midwest.

A study of the nation's 40 largest metropolitan areas released this month by the Employment Research Associates of Lansing, Mich., pinpoints how many billions of tax dollars city dwellers paid into the Pentagon budget in 1977 and how many they got back in the form of military contracts and other military outlays. Of the 40 areas, 25 were losers, of about \$17 billion, and 15 (six in California alone) were gainers, of about \$15 billion.

The New York metropolitan area was the top loser, to the tune of \$4.4 billion, equivalent to \$1800 per family. Chicago, the "second city," was next with an aggregate loss of \$3.3 billion, but on a per family basis it topped New York with a \$1900 loss. Detroit is third with an aggregate deficit of \$1.5 billion (\$1300 per family). Cleveland, recently thrown into fiscal turmoil by a mere \$15 million debt to private banks, was a net loser of \$800 million, its per family loss of \$1800 equaling that of New York.

The gainers and losers do not fall neatly along "sunbelt"/"snowbelt" lines. Houston, Miami, Atlanta, and New Orleans are losers—Miami's per family loss of \$2100 tops New York's and Chicago's; while Seattle (not for nothing is Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson a hawk), St. Louis, and Long Island are gainers.

Marion Anderson, co-author of the study with Michigan State University professor James Anderson, puts it well: "The Pentagon is spearheading a massive relo-

cation of wealth at a time that many cities can least afford it."

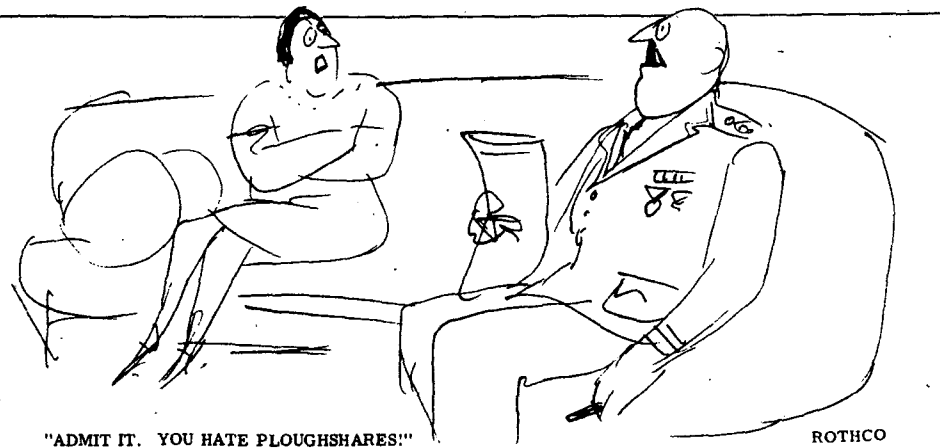
The Pentagon-directed relocation of wealth damages both gainer and loser cities. The losers are drained of funds, jobs, and public revenues needed for essential services. The gainers receive funds that contribute to lopsided metropolitan development and that are not available for investment in meeting central city needs. Every city loses by the impact of military spending on the economy: it is the most potent form of inflationary government spending. Yet it is the one category that conservative watchdogs against government spending seldom if ever attack.

Military spending also amounts to massive "economic planning" by government in cooperation with risk-free "private enterprise." This "planning," though patently inflationary, socially disruptive and ecologically wasteful, consistently escapes the wrath of the free marketeers. But let someone propose planning for full employment and stable prices, urban reconstruction and ecological balance, and the free marketeers rise up in arms against "big government" and tyrannical oppression of "private enterprise."

The Andersons' study clarifies the connection between arms spending and urban deterioration. It offers ammunition to the cities, especially those of the Northeast and Midwest, against the Pentagon blitz.

Simply competing for more military funds, which contribute little to solving chronic urban problems, the loser cities will only lose more. Cities can gain only by a transfer of funds from military to social spending—by demilitarizing economic planning and harnessing it for peaceful social purposes.

In the last analysis, the cities have a fundamental interest in changing American foreign policy from one pursuing a false security through belligerent *realpolitik* and more arms, to one seeking real security through disarmament and international cooperation.



Pentagon Scorecard

Following are the Employment Research Associates' estimates of the net gain or loss from 1977 military taxes and spending by the nation's 40 largest metropolitan areas. The figure in parentheses is the estimated per family gain or loss.

Losers		Gainers	
New York	\$4.4 billion (\$1,800)	LA-Lng Beach	\$1.5 billion (\$800)
Chicago	3.3 billion (1,900)	Wash., D.C.	3.1 billion (4,200)
Philadelphia	46 million (50)	Boston	1 billion (1,000)
Detroit	1.5 billion (1,300)	Nassau-Suffolk,	
SF-Oakland	487 million (600)	L.I.	878 million (1,300)
Pittsburgh	599 million (1,000)	St. Louis	1.5 billion (2,600)
Cleveland	880 million (1,800)	Dallas-Ft. Worth	862 million (1,400)
Newark	914 million (1,800)	Baltimore	520 million (1,000)
Houston	974 million (1,700)	Seattle	711 million (2,000)
Minn.-St. Paul	265 million (500)	Anaheim-Santa	
Atlanta	341 million (800)	Ana	575 million (1,400)
Milwaukee	585 million (1,700)	San Diego	1.6 billion (4,000)
Cincinnati	261 million (800)	Riverside-San	
Buffalo	493 million (1,500)	Bernadino	98 million (300)
Kansas City	321 million (1,000)	San Jose	1.2 billion (4,200)
Miami	747 million (2,100)	Providence	201 million (900)
Denver-Boulder	75 million (200)	San Antonio	932 million (3,800)
Indianapolis	23 million (100)	Sacramento	382 million (1,700)
Tampa-St. Pete.	175 million (500)		
Columbus, O.	57 million (200)		
New Orleans	180 million (700)		
Portland,			
Ore-Wash.	389 million (1,400)		
Phoenix	8 million (425)		
Rochester, N.Y.	434 million (1,800)		
Louisville, Ky.	199 million (900)		

LETTERS

WHO BUYS WHAT?

RE. PERSPECTIVES (ITT, FEB. 21)—Manning Marable justifying Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia, and John Rossen defending the unalienable right of self-determination.

The *New York Times*, Feb. 22, had "Hawks and Doves of Vietnam War Days Commenting on Invasion by China."

Cora Weiss, longtime anti-war activist, had the most accurate historical summary: The U.S. had not recognized or helped Vietnam, this forced Vietnam into an alliance with the Soviet Union, and has now set up the power struggle in the area with China determined to defend Cambodia.

Weiss contends that Brezezinski has won a great victory in this Chinese war against Vietnam and the world loses.

Seemingly, there is a clear argument between those who support the Soviet Union and its brand of socialism, and efforts to aid world liberation movements and revolutions and those who support the Chinese. There are socialists who support neither. And there are those, like Rossen, who believe in the "great international democratic principles of restitutions respect for the right of self-determination of peoples."

A Marxist, a revolutionary cannot buy Rossen's views for this would always favor the status quo. Marable's use of Malcolm X's statement that "the struggle for human liberation could involve the use of force and violence at some stage—that the defense of socialism will involve measures that may appear regrettable but ultimately necessary" is putting socialist liberation forces on the same moral footing as capitalist imperialistic forces with both using the same rhetoric: "We're liberating you for your own good."

This has been said in different ways: "There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is his Prophet." "We are going to bring you more civilization." "We are the wave of the future," etc.

—Abram Eisenman
Savannah, Ga.

HARRINGTON'S PAST

THE REPORT ON DSOC (ITT, MAR. 7) was solid. I appreciated seeing it—DSOC is an important development on the left. But one aspect of the report disturbed me: reference to Michael Harrington as having led the anti-war (Vietnam War) faction out of the "old Socialist Party."

Harrington made enough significant contributions to American socialism that he can afford to accept the burden of some errors in his past. That he was active in the movement against the Vietnam war is a myth, but he still refers to himself as one of the leaders of the peace movement in the '60s.

Harrington served as head of the Socialist Party during the time it implicitly supported U.S. intervention in Vietnam. The failure of the SP—when Harrington was leading it—to condemn that war and break with American policy led me to resign in 1971. A year later the remainder of the SP's left wing joined me in a wave of resignations. Harrington was still chairman. Only when his own faction lost control of the SP to a group still farther to the right, did he leave and form the DSOC.

I was a leader in the struggle against the Vietnam War and I do not recall seeing Harrington at a single planning meeting or a single demonstration—let alone in a jail cell with some of the rest of us. The new movement we are building does not require leaders who were always right on every issue. It does require a certain honesty about one's political past.

—David McReynolds
War Resisters League
New York

CALIFORNIA THIRD PARTIES

A BILL HAS BEEN INTRODUCED INTO the California legislature to eliminate the Peace and Freedom Party from the ballot. The bill, Assembly Bill 572, has received no publicity in California; most PFP activists don't even know about it. It probably won't be heard in committee until late April.

California law for qualifying a party for the ballot is the most difficult of any state in the country. To get on, a party must either submit a petition signed by 713,289 signatures (10 percent of the last state vote in a gubernatorial election) or persuade 71,329 voters to register to vote, showing the name of the party on their registration form (1 percent of the last vote in a gubernatorial election year).

PFP meets these requirements. But AB 572 would raise the registration requirement to one-half of 1 percent, which would be over 50,000 registrants. PFP currently has 29,000.

If PFP is driven from the ballot, there will be no parties on the ballot other than Democratic, Republican and American Independent (which has 80,000 registrants and wouldn't be affected by the bill). It is possible to get an independent candidate on the ballot with 100,000 valid signatures, and the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party used the independent method in 1976.

—Richard Winger
San Francisco

DOWN THE OFFICE

I ENJOYED JOHN MARKOFF AND JON Stewart's article on microprocessors and office work (ITT, Mar. 7). The authors' mixture of feelings about the coming automation of office work, though, clouds a major point: office work is for the most part boring, useless, repetitive and demoralizing.

If the only jobs available to office workers who lose their jobs to machines are in human services, then we should fight hard to create truly useful jobs, not to protect office jobs. Unless the new electronic tools pose a threat to workers' health (which may be the case, but might be corrected mechanically) we should welcome them. Anyone who has tried to type right-and-left-justified copy or to add long columns of numbers will be glad to hand the tasks to machines.

The problems of industrial automation did not bring a united socialist response in the U.S. Now that we have a chance to understand a new technological revolution, we should insist not only on jobs, but also on decent, useful, humanizing work for everyone.

The authors seem to be dismissing the possibility of full-scale employment in human services because service agencies tend to be non-profit; so is the military. We should not allow the structure of the current "job market" to limit our vision of useful work, or to prevent us from identifying possible sources of financing for that work.

—Emily Wright
Sacramento, Cal.

HARNESS IT

I AM SORRY THAT THE AUTHORS OF the microprocessor revolution (ITT, Mar. 7) failed to stress the fact that technology can be controlled.

Only under a system where profit and not people are the priority are the benefits of technology turned against people. No one, I am sure, would want to glorify jobs that oppress the mind and body. Technology can help to minimize the oppression of many tasks by reducing the time required to perform them and hence liberate people from them.

—Riel Miller
Toronto, Canada

DSOC

YOUR EDITORIAL (ITT, MAR. 7), "THE Waiting for Teddy Addiction," on the need for a new party and its building through independent political action focusing on legislative, as distinct from Presidential elections, is one with which I agree.

That editorial expresses a deep frustration I have felt with the DSOC from the beginning (I have been a member of the DSOC from its inception, and I was a delegate to its recent Houston convention). Similar frustrations are behind the creation of the "left caucus," quickly renamed the "Left Grouping," by Bogdan Denitch within the DSOC at its Houston convention.

—Leland Stauber
Carbondale, Ill.

ONE TENDENCY

I WAS EXTREMELY PLEASED WITH your editorial (ITT, MAR. 7) on third party politics, in addition to, not in lieu of, Democratic Party politics. Third party politics would have to be tested and nurtured at the local level, in communities where this approach might be ripe.

The comment about DSOC talking socialism among themselves, but liberalism to others is true. Here DSOC people with whom I am very friendly are shy

about their socialism. When a Eugene V. Debs award was given to a friend of mine, invitations were sent out signed only with the acronym DSOC. They were concerned that spelling out the "S" might have been embarrassing to him, or would have discouraged attendance. This is one tendency in DSOC, but it needs to be worked through.

—Harry Brill
Boston, Mass.

COOL

I ENJOYED THIS WEEK'S ISSUE OF ITT the most. The election victories in Cleveland and Ypsilanti made it great. And while you don't get credit for the victories, I send thanks for news of them, since I wouldn't have gotten adequate coverage in establishment press. Also, I like to follow the news first, and then understand it, and then act; so I enjoy the freedom to keep feeling good so I can keep reading. I have trouble doing this in left publications where propaganda and politicking is mixed with the news. In my life cooler prose is a plus.

—Bill Fishman
Los Angeles

Editor's Note: Please keep letters under 250 words. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, please type and double space letters.

DIALOG

How the Spanish left is moving to democracy

By Leonard Lamb & William Susman

DIANE JOHNSTONE'S GENERALLY GOOD REPORT ON THE Spanish elections is unduly pessimistic and occasionally wrong on the facts. ¶Johnstone writes, "The parliamentary left has also avoided the crucial issue of replacing fascist officials with new administrators committed to the democratic process." ¶The Spanish left and the PCE in particular have been engaged these past few years in taking a country with fascist institutions, including the government bureaucracy, police, army, courts and village and town administrations, and moving it towards democracy under conditions of total and semi-illegality. Until the new constitution was accepted last December, the entire state structure was a holdover of the Franco regime. Every positive action ran the risk of bringing the Franco laws, still on the books, into play. The problem the left faced was not simply replacing fascist officials, but rather finding ways to advance democracy in a country where a rupture with fascism had not occurred.

The failure of the government to schedule municipal elections ahead of the national elections meant that the Franco structure in town and countryside remained intact. The mayors and village *ayuntamientos* were and still are Franco-appointed. This played its part in the abstention rate because people coming to vote would see seated behind the official tables the same faces that appeared there under Franco.

Further, her assessment of the Moncloa Pact as designed to "hamstring labor" does not conform to the facts. The Moncloa Pact proposed to tie wages to prices, to use government funds to stimulate the development of a Spanish domestic economy in order to create jobs. "Moncloa" further recognized the right of workers to organize their own federations and was, in fact, the first major break with the fascist structure.

"Moncloa" was partially successful. In those cases where employers failed to give raises as proposed under the pact, strikes led by the CCOO (Workers' Com-

missions) and UGT resulted.

Far from any "torpor" suggested by Johnstone, there were more strikes in Spain under 'Moncloa' than in any industrialized country in the world during the same period.

Finally, to understand the Spanish election results one must look at the figures. In 1977 the PSOE won 119 seats in the Cortes and then merged with the Galvan socialists whose six seats gave the PSOE a parliamentary total of 125. In 1979 this was reduced by four seats to 121.

In total votes the PSOE lost 384,000; the UCD lost 57,000; the CD (rightists) lost 500,000. The PCE gained 400,000 votes!

The PCE had opposed the calling of national elections at this time for two reasons. They felt that the municipal vote had to take place first in order to eliminate the Franco structure in the countryside. They also felt that the elections should follow the development of a program subscribed to by all democratic forces that would (1) consolidate democracy; (2) strengthen the economy through the development of light industry, agriculture and fishing in order to battle unemployment; and (3) further the rapid development of the autonomous regions which would also help in the fight against terrorism.

The elections have not changed the needs for this program, but the results have strengthened the forces fighting for its implementation.

LAURENCE R. SPERBER

Union's anti-Weber brief may well win the case but will lose the cause

THE WEBER CASE, THE "blue collar Bakke" (ITT, Feb. 14), is set for argument before the U.S. Supreme Court on March 29. Brian F. Weber challenged an affirmative action job training program set up voluntarily in 1974 by the United Steel Workers Union and the Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp. at the company's Gramercy, La., plant. The U.S. Court of Appeals in New Orleans last November upheld Weber's contention that the program discriminated against him, a white man, on account of race, in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Steelworkers Union and the AFL-CIO joined forces in the leading brief against Weber. In view of the unions' longstanding defense of seniority against all enemies, some observers wondered why the unions defended the Kaiser plan with its quotas for blacks and other minorities, including a crumb for women.

As it turns out, the unions' brief is a shocker. It will alarm those committed to serious affirmative action. Their argument may win the case and lose the cause.

For the unions, the question is simple: "Does Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 make unlawful a program, adopted by an employer and union in collective bargaining, which reserves for black bidders 50 percent of the openings in an in-plant training program in order to eliminate a racial imbalance in the skilled craft workforce?"

The answer: "We do not argue that our choice is the only one for society as a whole, that it is required by law, or even that it is permitted to Government. (Emphasis added.) But we are emphatic that Congress...left employers and unions in the private sector free to take immediate effective steps to secure racial balance in previously all-white job categories." The



brief continues: "Title VII prohibits 'discrimination on the basis of race,' and...in stating the limits of that prohibition provides that the Government may not 'require' employers or unions to grant racial preferences to eliminate racial imbalance. The natural inference is that an employer or union is permitted to do so."

If the Supreme Court reverses the lower court on this narrow ground alone, Weber will lose the case, but it will make the Bakke decision look like a gift from Santa Claus in comparison.

Bakke left minority applicants to professional schools to the good graces of school administrators. But such a narrow decision in the Weber case would leave minorities in the working class to the bargaining whims of unions and management. Without the oversight of a government agency or court enforcement of affirmative action, will not the love affair with voluntary plans fade as surely as September follows June?

The absence in the record of proof of past discrimination was a flaw in both the Bakke and Weber cases. The parties—the white plaintiffs and the defendant institutions—in these cases have a real interest in showing that there was no past discrimination or keeping it out of the record. Under the high court's present doctrine that past discrimination must be shown to validate a strong affirmative action program benefitting minorities and

women, the white plaintiff's case is strengthened if no record of past discrimination is made. For their part, employers, unions, universities and other such institutions resist admitting to past discrimination, which would make them liable to suits for damages and to government compelled changes in hiring and recruitment practices.

In their brief, the unions reiterate the purity of their motives and their devotion, shared by management, to the elimination of racial imbalance, which they concede is a fact of life imposed by the history of the American society. But in so doing, they suggest that the employer and the unions are as much victims of this historical blight upon our otherwise model democracy, as are blacks—and women.

Arguing from legislative history, the unions state that Title VII governed only the private sector, not federal and state governments' behavior under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. The late Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey made this clear during Senate debate:

"The constitutional basis for Title VII is...the Commerce Clause.... I think there can be no question that if Congress can prevent discrimination in employment on the basis of membership or nonmembership in a labor union, as it does in the National Labor Relations Act, it can prevent discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin."

The brief then shows that the bipartisan majority in Congress agreed that "government dictation of employment conditions and decisions [should] not undermine the free enterprise and free collective bargaining systems." The sponsors of the bill "gave assurances that Title VII could in no circumstances be used to impose quotas on unwilling employers or unions, not even by a court after a defendant is found to have violated the Act."

The unions' brief concludes: "USWA has embarked upon a nationwide program which, if allowed to continue, will soon produce a major alteration in the status of blacks in important segments of American industry.... This is not a result which government has commanded (or perhaps could command), but it is a result which private, voluntary collective bargaining can produce."

The mystery inherent in the word "perhaps" has been cleared up. According to the unions' brief, the government and the courts cannot command rectification of racial imbalance in industry, but it can uphold voluntary plans. What if the Court in its bounty refuses to distribute even these crumbs? If the issue is thus nar-

rowed, and governmental or court action goes down the drain, what is left?

This problem must have troubled certain other unions that expressed their anxieties as friends of the Court:

The National Coordinating Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy argues in a brief *amicus* that the case was improperly brought before the lower federal court in the first place, because of the absence of indispensable parties (minorities or women), who alone had an interest in showing past discrimination as a basis for the affirmative action plan. The brief does concede that "Congress chose to encourage voluntary compliance with Title VII by emphasizing conciliatory procedures before federal coercive powers could be invoked." (Citing a 1975 Supreme Court decision). But it argues further that judicially ordered affirmative action plans to remedy past discrimination are valid, as are plans mandated by Executive Order.

The Coordinating Committee's brief flies in the face of the AFL-CIO's position. It recommends reversal of the lower court dissent, or a remanding to the lower court for the taking of further evidence. In its original brief, the U.S. government had suggested such a remand instead of the hearing granted by the Supreme Court.

A more extensive brief by ten *amici*, including seven unions, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and the Coalition of Labor Union Women, challenges the lower court's acceptance of voluntary race-conscious actions only when the employer's past conduct is found to be unlawful under Title VII: "This standard effectively precludes voluntary race conscious action.... [It] is not only wrong as a matter of policy, it is unworkable in practice."

The most thorough development of this argument is found in the brief of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund Inc., which will be treated in a subsequent column, along with other briefs supporting reversal, and the brief of the Jewish Anti-Defamation League supporting Weber.

The Anti-Defamation League has predictably filed a brief *amicus* supporting the lower court's pro-Weber decision and opposing quotas, whether arrived at voluntarily by union and management, as here, or imposed by government edict or court order. But the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress decided not to file briefs. They had supported Bakke last year, along with the ADL.

Laurence R. Sperber is a member of the New York and California Bar, and Bar of the U.S. Supreme Court.

JOHN ROSSEN

Revival of the draft is part of larger design to revive the Cold War

THE PENTAGON STOPPED DRAFTING YOUTH IN 1972. THE Selective Service System went on "standby." But the Selective Service Act still remains on the books. A concerted drive is now underway to revive the draft. It is being promoted by the Pentagon, the Carter administration, the usual array of cold warriors, and by a significant number of key liberals. A well-organized propaganda campaign has been launched in the media and on high school and college campuses. The question of compulsory versus voluntary military service is not a simple one, and there is division of opinion even among leftists.

History offers many examples of a professional military establishment becoming elitist and reactionary. It may be that the steady influx of draftees makes it more difficult to use the military freely at home or abroad. It has long been an accepted democratic (and socialist) principle that all citizens should share equally the responsibility of military service. Most of the present proposals for a revived draft do make provision for alter-

native civilian service in environmental or community improvement projects.

But none of these considerations are persuasive in the concrete situation today. The drive to revive the draft should be assessed as part of the administration's broader strategy to revive the Cold War.

The Institute for Policy Studies has released a detailed study of that strategy, "Resurgent Militarism," by Michael T. Klare and the Bay Area Chapter of the Inter-University Committee (available for \$1.50 at 1901 Q St., NW, Washing-

ton, DC 20009). As it points out:

"Scarcely a few years after the last U.S. soldiers were withdrawn from Asian battlefields, America is being plunged into another era of confrontation, intervention, and resurgent militarism," and the Pentagon's "crusade for increased military appropriations gains momentum with each new budget year."

There is mounting evidence of the push toward militarization of foreign and domestic policies: the stoking up the Cold War; the complicity in, or at least tacit consent to, China's military venture in Vietnam; the rushing of armaments to the North Yemen regime; the "guns ahead of butter" Carter budget; and, most recently, the legal effort to gag *The Progressive* on the grounds of "national security" (see page 3).

An enlarged conscript army will serve a number of purposes. It will support the push for expanding military budgets; it will generate a "danger-of-war" hysteria among the people; it will supply the military with personnel for an expanded American police presence in the Third World; it will help speed up the arms race; it will make it easier to impose repressive measures and economic "austerity" on the American people. Not least, it will be a convenient dumping ground for the unemployed generated by the widely anticipated economic recession.

The Pentagon has learned from the resistance to their misadventure in Vietnam. One of the new draft bills it supports is co-sponsored by California Rep. Paul McCloskey, a Republican dove during the Vietnam war, and by Illinois Rep. Paul Simon, a liberal Democrat. The proposed

legislation is sweetened with monetary rewards, educational opportunities, and alternative types of service.

But even a thick sugar coating cannot disguise the poison pill. A noticeable unease on the issue of the draft has already appeared among students, pacifists and religious organizations.

The draft is part of a resurgent militarism seeking to prepare for new war adventures. The democratic left must move quickly if it is to give impetus to a broad anti-draft movement.

John Rossen is a leader of the New Patriot Alliance. For information in Chicago, write or call Movement Against the Draft, Rm. 305, 343 S. Dearborn, Chicago, IL 60604 (Tel. 312/663-1664).

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY: A Bibliography

Fist and Rose Publishers, who puts out *The New International Review*, has just published a 16-page bibliography of social democratic books, pamphlets and articles that covers topics from political economy to the question of women and the family.

Copies can be ordered in bulk at 50 cents for three or more, or \$1 per copy. Order from: *The New International Review*, P.O. Box 156, Jackson Heights, N.Y. 11372.

PERSPECTIVES

Bad times are good for big business, but bad for the American people

By Harry Brill

THE PRESIDENT'S FISCAL POLICY PURPORTS TO RELIEVE inflationary pressures through slow growth. But it is worthwhile noting that on behalf of corporate treasuries, Carter is just as willing to declare himself on the side of accelerating the economy as slowing it down. ¶While he has been preaching economic restraint to battle inflation, his message to the Congress on behalf of his 1978 tax program, which provided \$5 billion in corporate tax relief, urged approval of his tax reforms to spur economic growth. He wanted to "assure that our economy will grow at a 4.5 to 5 percent pace through 1979."

Since the nation's largest corporations have already accumulated over \$80 billion in cash, which due to market conditions they are not investing in expansion, we should not be surprised that the multi-billion dollar windfall has not prompted higher levels of capital investment. Although the economy won't grow as a result, net after-tax profits will.

Which Carter are we to believe? The Carter of the 1978 Tax Revenue Act who thought the economy was moving too slowly, or the Carter of the 1978 anti-inflation program, who is persuaded that the economy is overheating? The answer should be obvious except to those with a conservative axe to grind.

Far from steaming, the economy is moving at a glacial tempo. There is plenty of idle labor, machines and plants, which, were it not for corporate manipulation of the market, would dictate falling, not rising prices.

It is not only that there is another downturn ahead; we're already in the midst of a recession. It isn't regarded as one by the economic establishment because GNP has not been declining. But who would claim that although unemployment from 1934 through 1937 was exceedingly high, these were not depression years because GNP continually climbed in each of them from its low point in 1933?

Unemployment has dropped since 1975, but the current 6 percent level ranks high for the post-war period. In fact, the unemployment rate for 1978 exceeded levels recorded during the early stages of all the post-war recessions. Aside from the human hardship that joblessness causes, from an economic perspective, the large pool of unemployed workers has been prompting deflationary wage settlements. According to the Department of Labor, the real income of workers for 1978 was down 3.4 percent.

Nevertheless, there is no end to the arguments blaming labor for the inflation problem. In Carter's economic report to Congress, he attributed much of the inflation to lagging productivity. His economic advisers told him that improvements in output per man hour is not what it used to be.

Yet in the manufacturing sector for 1978, the productivity rate remained in line with the last 30 year average, and in fact, was slightly higher. It is mainly the service sector which pulls the productivity average down, although this is difficult to interpret because the statistics for the service industries are acknowledged to be extremely unreliable. In any case, neither bank tellers, hotel housekeepers, nor supermarket clerks are contributing to inflation. Jobs in the service industries rank among the lowest paid.

Undoubtedly, gains in labor productivity for most industries are lagging well behind their potential. But this is mainly

a function of a listless economy, which discourages investment in more efficient plant and equipment. Also important, there are numerous jobs in industries that cannot be readily dispensed with. So when the volume of business drops, manpower does not decline proportionately. Making productivity gains requires both higher rates of growth and capacity utilization.

But according to the President's Council of Economic Advisors, our industries are operating at almost full capacity, which has been generating inflation because supply is unable to meet demand. Yet a recent report of the Department of Commerce indicates a drop in the capacity utilization rate to 83 percent, which means that on the average 17 of every 100 machines and plants are idle. Business doesn't expand its productive capacities until at least a 90 percent utilization rate is achieved.

During the last downturn, 1974-75, which represented the severest recession since the '30s, capacity utilization was very low and demand was slack. Still, Arthur Burns, then chairman of the Federal Reserve, admonished a congressional committee about how limited supplies and excessive demand were responsible for the high underlying inflation rate. Burns blamed the federal deficit for the demand side of the inflation equation, and Carter has come to the same conclusion. Carter's program, in fact, is the same as the conservative Federal Reserve chief he fired. It was madness then; it is madness now.

The President is recommending an \$11 billion budget cut and only a small increase in the overall spending level. Yet many economists who have a great deal of confidence in Carter's ability to bring on a recession are highly skeptical that restraining the budget will control inflation.

Just to knock off 1 percent from the inflation rate, economists estimate the GNP would have to be reduced by as much as \$200 billion. At the current inflation rate, this would be tantamount to putting our \$2 trillion economy out of business. Yet even this estimate might be exaggerating the impact of cutting federal spending. Not being taken into account is the tendency of business to raise prices in response to declining demand.

What is certain is the role that Carter's proposed 1980 fiscal budget plays in expediting the redistribution of income. Carter's tax rebates, which favor the corporate treasuries and rich investors, require limiting federal spending. In turn, as Charles Schultze, the President's economic chief, promised, there will be future tax relief programs.

Since equitable budget reductions would offset many of the gains made by big business and the rich, we should not be surprised that Carter's budget proposals reflect the same class bias as the

1978 Revenue Act. Programs that benefit the disadvantaged have been ruthlessly slashed. Children, minorities, the aged, and the sick are being expected to tighten their belts so that the fat cats can loosen theirs.

As a result of the substantial increase in the military budget, the military-industrial complex won't need to run any bake sales. Agribusiness is receiving its several billion dollar subsidy, which we pay out in both higher taxes and higher food prices. Subsidies to the airlines are being increased to assure them a fair rate of return.

Millions of dollars are being recommended to continue to assist energy and mineral corporations to locate resources for their private exploitation. And so on. A president who is so devoted to serving the corporations and the rich will have to demand austerity from the rest of us.

The implications for the business cycle of an \$11 billion cut in the deficit seems minuscule in a \$2 trillion economy. But Carter's agenda is a long-range one. Its impact is meant to be cumulative.

Federal spending creates jobs and stimulates the economy, particularly when the tax money is obtained from income that would otherwise have been idle. The policy of restraining federal expenditures in favor of billions of dollars of corporate tax relief, almost all of which will "disappear" from the economy, certainly generates higher unemployment and economic instability. The adverse economic impact of favoring corporations is already accumulating. Over the last several years, new tax legislation has saved the corporations roughly \$20 billion, which if retained by the government for spending on worthwhile programs, would have measurably dented the unemployment rate.

Persuading Congress to restore the administration's budget cuts would cushion millions of Americans from the hardships of a sluggish economy. But just as a few billion dollar cut would not, by itself, bring on a depression, neither will salvaging these expenditures prevent one. To head off an economic downturn,

a much more ambitious program is needed.

Federal spending would have to be substantially increased, not mainly through deficit financing, which, in a pinch, the corporations prefer, but through higher taxes on the corporations and the rich. Rather than inhibiting productive investments, strictly enforced tax measures could discourage hundreds of billions of dollars of wasteful corporate spending, such as for mergers and acquisitions, and investments abroad, almost all of which are draining the American economy of jobs and capital.

Rather than being inflationary, as mainstream economists warn, the ensuing more rapid economic growth would be anti-inflationary because it would increase the total supply of goods and services. This is why inflation was relatively low through most of the '50s and '60s. Higher growth rates, by encouraging capital investments, would improve productivity and reduce the costs of production without sacrificing our standard of living. Redistributing income through fiscal policy is not only morally just, but an economic necessity in building a prosperous, healthy economy.

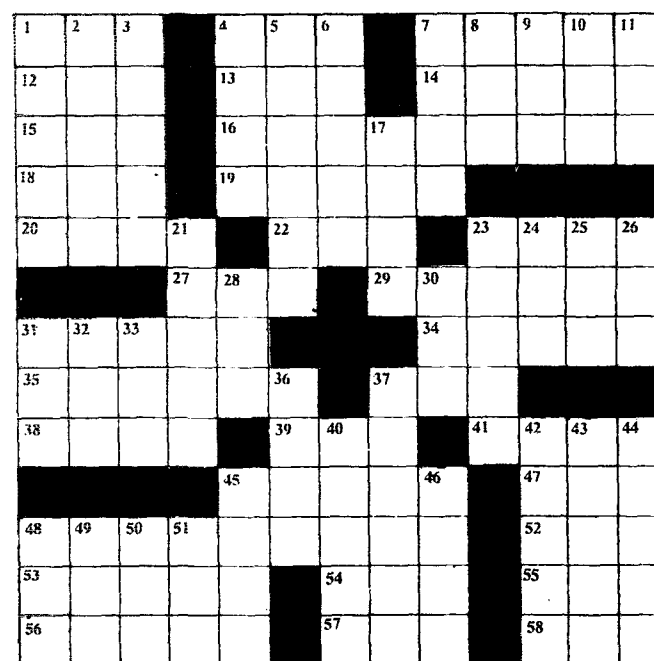
Because the dismal economic climate can be altered only through active government intervention, big business has reason to fear a prosperous economy. Along with higher corporate taxes, the activities of the corporations would require regulation.

In the interest of serving public needs, the government would also have to set itself in competition with private enterprise. Especially unpleasant, big business would have to become accustomed to dealing with a more independent labor force. Corporate resistance would indeed be formidable.

But although the political road would be difficult, the economics, at least, is uncomplicated. Contrary to President Carter's message, it is not bad times that are good for us; only good times are. ■

(This is the last of a series of three articles on Carter's economic policies.)

Harry Brill is professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts, Boston.



Common Sense

By Jay Shepherd

ACROSS

- 1 Taste
- 4 "___ on paric
francals"
- 7 Egg-shaped
- 12 Single
- 13 Neither's partner
- 14 Shade of black
- 15 "Much ___ about
Nothing"
- 16 Prime Minister of
Thailand
- 18 Fasten
- 19 Israel's King David,
for one
- 20 Utters
- 22 Soak, as flax
- 23 Pace
- 27 Consume
- 29 Wife of Ahasuerus
- 31 Flower part
- 34 Political theorist

whose writings
hastened the Declara-
tion of Independ-
dence

- 35 Stationary
- 37 Admirer
- 38 Author Fleming
and namesakes
- 39 Friend, in Paris
- 41 Skillful
- 45 Intended
- 47 UN's first secretary-
general
- 48 Former U.S. Secre-
tary of State
- 52 Roadside attraction
- 53 Inspire with joy
- 54 Employ
- 55 Sen. Kennedy, for
short
- 56 Controversial Mid-
east Heights
- 57 Sault ___ Marie

DOWN

- 1 TV afternoon fare

- 2 Type of ink
- 3 Flower of the crow-
foot family
- 4 Move subtly
- 5 Partner
- 6 Heated
- 7 Spoken
- 8 Actor Hefflin or
Johnson
- 9 Actress Gardner
- 10 Decade number
- 11 Finish
- 17 Apportion by mea-
sure
- 21 Locations
- 23 ___ by (defend)
- 24 Weather abbr.
- 25 Suffix with velvet
- 26 Before: prefix
- 28 Actress MacGraw
- 30 Vichy, for example
- 31 Controversial plane,
for short
- 32 Greek vowel
- 33 Mythological piper
- 36 City in Normandy
- 37 Most superior
- 40 Sorcerer
- 42 Creme de la creme
- 43 Penalties
- 44 Cares for
- 45 Expression
- 46 Elm, for one
- 48 Beer measure
- 49 Worker's org.
- 50 Gal of song
- 51 RR stop

Solution to last week's puzzle:



Medvedev

Continued from page 11.

relatives in the army. All adult males to the age of 50, who are not in active service, are either officers or soldiers in the reserve. Every grown man has a "military card" indicating his rank and profession. He cannot change residence without "removing himself from the registration lists" in his former Military Registration Office and "registering for duty" in his new district. Without an affidavit from the Military Registration Office stating that he, a militarily obligated person, has registered in the new district, he cannot be employed. Once every year or two, "reservists," and especially officers, go through training to familiarize themselves with new methods and weaponry.

As a result of this, in times of conflict, the military psychology begins inevitably to dominate, and the traditionally patriotic Soviet people temporarily forget about the day-to-day difficulties of life.

V

Soviet involvement in the Arab-Israeli conflict is basically unpopular. Egypt's example of breaking off all relations with the USSR is not excluded as a possible course of action by Syria or Iraq. The whole Arab East in general, with its kings, princes, sultans, military dictators and religious fanatics, is scarcely intelligible to the average citizen from central Russia or the Ukraine. The stakes in this conflict are too far removed from the concerns of the Soviet people, and an overly pro-Arab policy incurs the open criticism of the almost two million Jewish population, concentrated principally in the large cities and occupying important positions in intellectual circles.

A hostile China with a 7000-kilometer common border along almost all of Eastern Siberia, the Far East and parts of Soviet Central Asia, is another matter entirely.

Especially after the "Cultural Revolution," China came to be seen as the major source of danger by the Soviet intelligentsia. Even well-known dissidents have issued harsher judgments and pronouncements against China than are to be found in the more cautious official Soviet propaganda, which strives to separate the aggressive intentions of the Chinese government from the traditions "of the great, peace-loving, hardworking Chinese people."

This distinction is generally not made in dissident essays and articles, where the problem is presented simply as the "Chinese danger." "The idiocy of the cult of personality took on monstrous, grotesquely tragicomic forms, which carried to the absurd many characteristics of Stalinism and Hitlerism," wrote academician A.D. Sakharov as early as 1968, in his essay "Reflections on Progress, Peaceful Coexistence, and Intellectual Freedom." In Sakharov's opinion, the Chinese leadership succeeded in "duping tens of millions of people, that is, it forced the submission of the peace-loving masses to its militaristic aims."

In his "Letter to the Leaders of the Soviet Union," Solzhenitsyn predicted that war with China "will be the most protracted and bloodiest of all the wars of humanity." Even without the use of nuclear weapons it could last ten to 15 years and "it would cost us at the very least 60 million people, and, as always in war, the best people." "Speaking of the Russian people—our last root will be annihilated, its final annihilation will be carried out. After that war, for all practical purposes, the Russian people will cease to exist on this planet."

But if Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn drew these apocalyptic pictures to urge the Soviet leaders not to widen the conflict with China, not to begin a war, it was Andrei Amalrik's view that China herself would inevitably begin the war, for "the logic of her internal development is leading China to a period of external expansion."

China, in Amalrik's opinion, would begin a war sometime between 1975 and 1980 with conventional

weapons, striving to use her colossal numerical superiority and experience in partisan warfare. Already in 1969, Amalrik had predicted that "as China's might and influence increases, the tendency in the U.S. towards agreement with China will strengthen, and in Mao's regime or that of his successors the Americans will begin to find sympathetic traits."

Many other dissidents expressed themselves in the same vein. If there has been any area without major differences between dissident circles and official Soviet policy, it has been the problem of China.

All this contributed to the climate of opinion that converted the Sino-Vietnamese conflict into a portent of major war. Concern was universal, though greater among the general population than in the military-bureaucratic apparatus, where though the commencement of military action on the Vietnamese border was unexpected, there was a wave of relief that the war began there and not on the Soviet border.

VI

The people generally also perceived the beginning of the war in Vietnam as "there" and not "here," but the danger of escalation was obvious. This immediately lowered the level of internal disagreement in the population. The signs of national unity in the face of the threat of war were apparent. People suddenly realized that, in the hands of the government, lay more than just the responsibility for all their daily needs, for which the government has been subjected to open and private criticism, particularly over the past few years. Now all these problems sank into the background, "all this is nothing, just so there's no war" became the predominant sentiment in conversations on the food queues.

In a letter I received a few days ago from acquaintances in the Stavropol region, there was a typical phrase. "We are very upset about the events in Vietnam. Really, what swine these Chinese are, what do they want? Will war really break out? It's frightening to remember about the war." Such was the reaction of an ordinary man in a letter written not for the press but for a completely different matter in connection with a number of day-to-day household requests. The letter-writer is a worker who fought in the last war, and his area was occupied by the Germans.

Then, a few days after the military action had begun, the people began to calm down. The influence of media propaganda on the "mass man" cannot be underestimated, especially when people are not indifferent to it. There were no visible signs of imminent danger, apart from partial mobilization, troop movements, a summons to "strengthen defense," etc. All the articles by correspondents from the battlefield focused attention on Chinese defeats and losses. It was constantly emphasized that the Chinese were attacking with a huge regular army engaging local defensive attachments and border formations.

The picture that emerged made clear that starting the war was a miscalculation by the "Chinese aggressors." If they had such difficulty in operations against the local home guard and regional militia, then the introduction of the Vietnamese regular army, equipped with modern Soviet military technology, would smash the Chinese forces. Clearly, the Chinese were using all types of weapons and many tanks, while Vietnam was not even putting tank formations or aviation into action, keeping them rather in reserve.

At the same time, extensive information became available that China's "aggression" had produced widespread indignation in the world and great concern among those circles in the West that had been prepared to start selling China contemporary weapons technology. News of the withdrawal of forces was seen as a clear defeat for the Chinese. Details of destruction and death among the civilian population, and emphasis on the collaboration of the "ethnic Chinese" living in Vietnam with the Chinese army served as a clear "justification" for the previous discrimination by the Vietnamese government against this group, discrimination that had played no minor role in straining Sino-Vietnamese relations.

Simultaneously, the Soviet government unquestionably received external, and what was evidently more important, internal support for its policy of restraint. In all the major speeches of leaders, now read more attentively, there were no alarm signals. It was emphasized that the USSR is strong enough to withstand conflict, and that it can render effective local support to its friends and allies without subjecting its own borders to danger.

If the events at the front can be interpreted in different ways, the propaganda war was unconditionally won by Vietnam and her chief ally—the USSR.

VII

What were China's real goals in this obviously aggressive tactic? Revenge for Cambodia? This is hardly probable. "To teach Vietnam a good lesson?" This is not serious motivation. The "lesson" itself only strengthens the alliance between Vietnam and the USSR and Vietnamese dependence on Soviet military and economic cooperation. It justifies a future offer to Vietnam of a wider range of weapons, including strategic. China's promise to repeat this "lesson" if Vietnam does not improve her "behavior" will provide a pretext for fortifying the border regions, which will make a repetition of the "lesson" improbable. All in all, it ties Vietnam to the USSR even more intimately, which makes no strategic sense for China.

I am inclined to explain these events somewhat more simply. If post-Maoist China, in its transition to a policy of industrial and economic development, had chosen the path of normalization and rapprochement with the USSR, it would have entailed economic and military aid. One should not forget that the basis of the entire Chinese arms industry was constructed according to Soviet plans and with Soviet aid until the ideological conflict of 1959-60.

The choice of a pro-Western orientation by a gigantic, but communist, country promised development of heavy and consumer industry, with no strong chance for reconstruction of the arms industry or for deliveries of modern military technology. European countries might fill some military orders, but the main purchase of military technology cannot ensure the military potential of a super-power. The Western fear that the strengthened military potential of this huge country would be used against its allies, most importantly Taiwan, Thailand, Malaysia and other Southeast Asian countries was quite apparent. Neither can it be excluded that China's conflict with the USSR will end.

In these circumstances, the Chinese leadership, still fairly inexperienced in international affairs, wanted to show, not only in word but in deed, whom it considers its major antagonist, and against whom its more modern military forces would be concentrated.

One should not forget, moreover, that those who now have practical power in China were, for many years in the recent past, excluded from participation in governmental and international action. Having spent ten or more years in agricultural communes and in exile, they are adjusting with difficulty to the realities of the contemporary world and the complex nuances of diplomatic and political intrigue. For them, the attack on Vietnam was a way of convincing the U.S. and other Western countries of the seriousness of their new and determined anti-Soviet orientation.

But the irresponsible ease with which they began this widely pre-publicized war, the striving to show the world that the war was, to a certain degree, silently supported by their new allies, who did not object to the idea of "teaching Vietnam a good lesson"—all this can hardly lead to the consequences counted on by China.

For the present, China represents only a prospective trading partner for the Western countries that might help relieve the political strains connected with unemployment and recession. But this is a far cry from being a "natural military ally," especially given the instability in Chinese politics and leadership typical of any totalitarian country for many years after the death of a dictator.

Translated from the Russian by E.J. Brown.

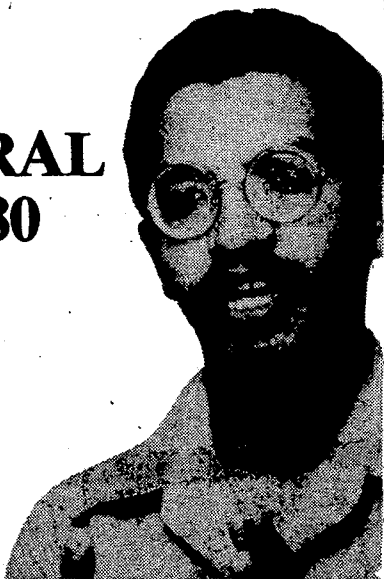
MANNING MARABLE

In These Times Columnist

discusses

BLACK ELECTORAL STRATEGY IN 1980

Monday, April 9 8 pm
Wellington Avenue Church Annex
615 West Wellington
Chicago
\$2 Donation



women and social justice conference

Saturday and Sunday, April 7 and 8

Harvard University Science Center

1 Oxford St. Cambridge, MA

with Barbara Ehrenreich, Jo Freeman, Joyce Miller,
Ruth Messinger, Diane Lacey and others

also: New Harmony Sisterhood Band; "With Babies and Banners"

Workshops: Women and the Labor Movement, The New Right,
Reproductive Rights, Third World Women in the U.S., Gay Movement

Registration: 9-10 am, Sat., April 7 and Sun., April 8
Harvard University Science Center
Daycare Provided Suggested Donation \$3

Sponsors: Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee
Radcliffe Union of Students

Information: 212/260-3270, 617/498-2075, 617/426-9026

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

MOVIES

Let us now praise working women

By Lynn Garafola

Among Hollywood's spate of "working-class" films, *Norma Rae* is unique. Its protagonist is a woman, the setting today's South. Most important, director Martin Ritt lays to rest the cliché that equates assembly lines with ethnic America and union drives with the heroic '30s. *Norma Rae* is about a different working class America: the men and women, old and young, blacks and poor whites who keep the textile mills of the sunbelt running and their continuing struggle to better the conditions of their lives.

Based on the real life story of Crystal Lee Sutton and her fight to organize textile workers at the J.P. Stevens Roanoke Rapids plant, *Norma Rae* centers on the transformation of a young Carolina millhand into the Mother Jones of a major unionizing drive.

When we first meet her, Norma Rae is a rebel without a cause. Like everyone else in this one-company town, she is beholden to the O.P. Henley Company for a job. Unlike the others, she is quick to anger and quick to accuse management of not living up to their promises—an attitude

rightly identified by management as one leaning toward unionization. The catalyst comes in the form of a labor organizer sent down by the textile international in New York. The two meet on Norma Rae's doorstep as he asks her father for a room and outside the O.P. Henley gates where he passes out flyers to the millhands. This juxtaposition sets the structure of the film which moves back and forth between Norma Rae's personal life and episodes from the organizing campaign. After much effort, including an incident that lands her in jail, the drive is a success.

There is no doubting the good intentions that went into the making of *Norma Rae* or even that the film may sway audiences by its avowedly pro-union sentiments. But in the way it personalizes the drama and downplays the politics of confrontation in favor of a sentimentalized populism, *Norma Rae* ends by diminishing the struggle and trivializing the power of the corporate antagonist.

In labor organizer Reuben Marshasky (Ron Liebman), screenwriters Irving Ravetch and Harriet Frank Jr. have concocted a character who gives New York



Police and textile bosses take Norma Rae to jail.

and young Jewish radicals a bad name. His dialogue consists of Borscht-belt one-liners, he has a proverbial Jewish mama who adores his proverbial Jewish girlfriend (a Harvard Law School graduate and gourmet cook, no less), and he recalls opening fire hydrants on Riverside Drive, a summer pastime hardly typical of his privileged address. But if these were intended as humorous touches, references to high art, New York-style, and the poetry of Dylan Thomas betray a decidedly middle-class bias: Marshasky comes off as a cultural stereotype and latter-day carpetbagger who sees his role as bringing culture to the natives.

Equally misguided is the organizing scenario. Marshasky arrives seemingly out of the blue at the factory gates and conducts the

The labor organizer acts like a cultural carpet-bagger.

campaign in improbable isolation from the textile international up north. Among the papers littering his room, union newsletters or other labor material are not in evidence; he neither writes nor ostensibly receives any communication (save a flying visit from union higher-ups worried by rumors of Norma Rae's "promiscuity") from his or any other union. Furthermore, an attitude of mistrust, toward union structure and officialdom, reminiscent of *Blue Collar*, transforms the organizer into a lone wolf hero—an ironic touch in a film wholeheartedly committed to unionization.

Except for two brief meetings, the film entirely passes over the question of process—how in the course of unionization workers gain slow but perceptible consciousness of their exploitation, the need for unity, and awareness that by standing together they can stand up to the company. Whether campaigning in the back country or mimeographing handouts, organizing in *Norma Rae* remains the task of the protagonists, rarely shared out, never a process by which solidarity is built. Similarly, the film never articulates a series of bargaining demands, economic or otherwise. Yet her mother's temporary deafness from high noise levels which Norma Rae protests in the film's opening sequence and her father's death on the job from a coronary raise major health and safety issues. They remain, however, red herrings in the script, milked for their pathos rather than their political usefulness.

If the depiction of organizing falls short of reality, *Norma Rae* marks a breakthrough in Hollywood's portrayal of a working-class woman. Brash and self-reliant, intelligent and outspoken, Norma Rae comes to consciousness of herself both as a worker and as a woman. Little by little, her anger is channeled from backtalk to leadership as the space of her life expands from kitchen and workplace to campaigning in churches and outside country stores.

A working mother and sole support of her two children, she is dogged by the peccadilloes of youth—an escapade with a "Southern gentleman" in the backseat of a car that left her with an out-of-wedlock son—and the desires of a grown woman. Equally admirable is her growing

realization of the relationship between class and sexuality—that to the "gentlemen" commercial travelers who take her to bed in exchange for a steak, she is just poor white trash. The film never hedges around the issue of Norma Rae's sexuality—it simply accepts it without comment and moralizing.

But quite apart from sexuality, *Norma Rae* brings a feminist consciousness to the screen. Whether protesting the "triple shift" (organizer, housewife and millhand) by flinging dishes and dirty laundry in her husband's face, telling her children the truth about her sexual past or forging a non-sexual working friendship with Marshasky, Norma Rae reflects the many facets of women's lives today and suggests possibilities for change.

As a "woman's film," *Norma Rae* is rooted firmly in the present. As a "labor film," however, it remains half-tied to the iconography of the past, and in particular, to Hollywood populism of the late '30s and '40s. The labor-intensive mill it depicts is a throwback to an earlier era rather than a picture of today's highly automated plants; the faces evoke *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*; the swimming hole sequence harks back to old-time rural America.

At the same time, the film's political edge is blunted by equating unionization with a kind of moral righteousness. But more seriously, management is depicted as a paper tiger with a mental obtuseness and physical brawn that used to characterize Southern sheriffs. Unlike O.P. Henley, the real J.P. Stevens violates the law with impunity and actually closed down a plant whose workers voted for a union. Although Norma Rae spends a couple of hours in jail for disorderly conduct, nowhere is there a sense of danger or fear of the corporate power that has for decades kept unions out of the South.

This is one source of disagreement between the real-life Norma Rae and the film's producers. In a telephone interview with the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Crystal Lee spelled out her criticism: "They didn't get across what organizing really means in the South today—how you have to struggle to get what you want out of life."

Norma Rae does get that message across, even if the politics get watered down along the way. And it does so, not by recalling the proletarian heroes of yesterday or the muscle-bound auto workers of today, but by recreating in the cinematic terms of a mass audience the experiences of an average working woman living in the prosaic world of the '70s.

LABOR HISTORY

Coal strikers' story told with apologies

THE GUNS OF LATTIMER
by Michael Novak
Basic Books, 1978, \$10.95

By Jeffrey Gillenkirk

On Sept. 10, 1897, in the Lehigh coal region of central Pennsylvania, a sheriff's posse paid by local coal operators' opened fire on a procession of striking miners, killing 19 and seriously wounding 39 others. The 87 deputies, indicted and brought to trial for the murder of one Michael Cheslak, were acquitted six months later.

Theologian-philosopher Michael Novak has recreated this passion and tragedy with scrupulous detail, using local newspaper reports of the time and court transcripts from the dramatic trial. Written like a novel, *The Guns of Lattimer* proceeds convincingly to a sickening climax, where it then descends into apology for murder in defense of profit and property.

Novak paints the victims as "tragic" and the victimizers as regrettably trigger-happy snobs. The facts, as he usefully and vigorously relates, are these:

By 1897 coal miners were earning an average of \$1.00 a day, \$300 annually in the Lehigh region. From their salaries came deductions for the company doctor and priest, and for credit at the company store. Housing was rented from the Company.

By 1897 nearly half of the min-

ers in Lehigh were new—and often illegal—Slavic and Italian immigrants to the U.S. They were exploited like any new group. The UMW organizer for the region had lobbied for passing a 3 percent tax on alien worker's salaries to please the Anglos he had been trying to unionize.

On Aug. 12, 1897, Superintendent Gomer Jones of the Lehigh and Wilkes-Barre Coal Company announced that mule drivers would work more hours without more pay. The drivers, mostly Slavs, went on strike and picketed. Jones then beat a picket with a crowbar, and the rest of the miners walked out.

The strike spread throughout the region as Irish, Welsh, and Italian miners followed the Slavs and demanded higher wages, abolition of the alien tax, alternatives to the company store, and suspension of mandatory doctors' fees. The UMW organizer joined the strikers.

Following picnics and demonstrations on Labor Day, 1897, coal company owners ordered County Sheriff James Martin to declare a state of emergency. The sheriff, an elected official, read the riot act to strikers the next day. The strike persisted nevertheless. Martin then hired 87 deputies, whose salaries and rifles were paid for by the coal companies.

By Sept. 10, coal owners had lost three weeks of operation. On the morning of the 10th, 300



strikers set out behind an American flag for the Lattimer, Pennsylvania mines, to call out the workers to strike. Martin met them and again read the riot act. Arguing ensued, and the sheriff grabbed a striker and began shaking him. Martin was grabbed in turn, then someone gave an order to fire. Many of the 19 dead and 39 wounded were shot in the back while fleeing.

The deputies were tried, but the jury of the defendant's peers—property owners and local businessmen—acquitted Martin and his deputies of murder. The UMW signed 10,000 men in the Lehigh region that summer, boosting their membership by one-third.

Novak's account is a curious mishmash of solid fact and soggy sentiment, justifying the murders as a ritualistic sacrifice in some perverse moral order:

"...more advances cost blood, not metaphorical blood, but the blood of individuals with families and friends. Mere bloodshed is insane, chaotic, meaningless. But reason, glacial under prejudice, is sometimes broken open by the heat of symbolically spilled blood."

In Luzerne County in 1897, it appears that the suspension of law—and of life—was permissible in the defense of coal company profit. Novak doesn't support that stance; neither does he renounce it. I don't believe he even saw it, though all the evidence is in his own book.

WOMEN'S MUSIC

Women's records bloom

By Myrna S. Greenfield

"Fight back!" is the message of *Imagine My Surprise*, singer/songwriter/activist Holly Near's latest release. Fighting back is just what women's recording companies like Redwood Records—Near's recently expanded label—are doing. The activist stance of both the singer and the record company exemplify the commitment of women's music to social change over profit.

Fighting back works for change on many levels. Holly Near's material avoids the empty rhetoric of much political folk song

by focusing on personal lives. Instead of singing *about* torture of political prisoners, for example, Near's haunting *capella* song, "Hay Una Mujer Desaparecida," calls out to Michelle Peña Herrera and to other women political prisoners missing in Chile and elsewhere.

Near's music spans a broad range of topics, moods, and musical styles. *Imagine My Surprise* has a sparser, more acoustic sound than Near's earlier lps; it shows the influence of Olivia recording artist Meg Christian, who cowrote three of the songs with Near and is responsible for most of the album's arrangements, mixing, sup-

porting vocals and guitar accompaniments. Near's vocals, warm, passionate, confident as ever, are embellished not only by Christian's work, but by some of the best musicians in women's music, including Linda Tillery, Teresa Trull, and several members of Alive!

Imagine My Surprise is Holly Near's finest achievement yet. Unlike her three earlier lps, which came from an ostensibly broader, leftist/feminist perspective, *Imagine* is specifically directed to the women's community (it is promoted as Near's "first woman-identified album"). The album is anything but narrow in focus, however; it is international in scope, reflecting and celebrating the range of women's experiences and sensibilities.

The album also reflects the perspective of Redwood Records. Redwood is worker-owned and functions collectively. Each woman shares both in the stamp-licking and the decision-making. As well, each woman has specific duties, such as promotion and quality control. Meeting time is devoted to criticism/self-criticism and discussion of group dynamics, as well as the usual business matters and political issues.

Near and her coworkers at Redwood Records—Torie Osborn,



Women's jazz group, Alive!



Holly Near's newest album cover

Marsha Cummings, and Trudy Fulton—maintain their loyalty to the women's independent distribution network and to the lesbian/feminist community that inspires women's music, but they are also committed to linking up with other issues and struggles outside the women's movement and lesbian/gay causes. Redwood's artists are signed both for their musical talents and their crossover potential with audiences Redwood hopes to reach.

Since expanding in 1978, Redwood has recorded Holly Near and Sweet Honey in the Rock, plans to record Alive!, a West Coast percussion-based jazz group, this spring. Sweet Honey, a black, *a cappella* gospel vocal group, is reaching both women's and leftist audiences and is winning support for women's music in the black community. Alive!, a sophisticated white lesbian contemporary jazz group, is capturing an audience of jazz devotees who have never heard of women's music.

Redwood's interest in broadening the market for women's music makes sense both politically and financially. The label is backing the release of its albums with concert tours. Near is currently engaged in a 50-city tour, and Redwood hopes to ensure the success of Alive!'s debut album by sending the group on a nationwide tour of the jazz clubs when the album is released this fall.

In addition, Redwood devotes a substantial portion of its budget to creating as high quality a product as possible. This applies to album packaging as well as to sound production. There are no invisible "session women" on the records; credit is scrupulously given to everyone from the artists' mothers to inner sleeve photographers. Album covers have featured attractive portraits of the artists.

In fact, the cover of Holly

Near's new album has generated controversy in the women's movement press. Some feminists feel that the huge image of Near is in bad taste because it promotes her as the big star, while the album is billed "Holly Near and friends." They have also criticized the look for being too Doris Day, Kellogg's cornflakes wholesome.

Torie Osborn, Redwood's PR person, responds: "The use of that particular photo was a deliberate choice. People have said it makes Holly look like an 'All-American Girl,' but if you look at it you can see she's got a mischievous glint in her eyes. Besides, those bright colors—that's just the sky in the background—and that wholesome look—that's real about Holly. That's who she is—wholesome."

Sales figures point to the marketing wisdom of Redwood's approach. *Imagine My Surprise*, near's first album in two-and-a-half years, sold over 10,000 copies in the first month of its release. Her first three albums, all on Redwood, as well as the two Holly Near songbooks Redwood distributes, are still strong sellers. In total, Near's records have sold over 100,000 copies. Sweet Honey's second album—their first on Redwood, *B'lieve I'll Run On... See What the End's Gonna Be*, has sold over 16,000 copies since its release last September—a respectable figure for an album with specialty appeal.

Sales seem modest in a time when platinum and gold records proliferate, until you make allowance for the fact that this music has had virtually no mainstream publicity or airplay. Osborn states: "We're going to try to promote the music without compromising ourselves and without selling our distribution system down the river." A forthcoming article will look at the problems involved in marketing and distributing women's music.

Interview with Holly Near

By Connie McKenna

What is happening with Redwood Records?

Redwood Records is now a women-run record company. It used to be mine. My parents worked with it during the anti-war movement; it was an outlet for my music. It later grew to become a company, now located in San Francisco. I am working with the company, but now that I am no longer a record company president, I'm out singing more. It's great.

How has working with Meg Christian affected your work?

When Meg and I first met, a lot of people thought we wouldn't get along. I was in the anti-war movement at that time. She was working with the women's movement and even more so with building lesbian culture. But even though we had differences and we'd argue about political issues, we had a great respect for each other's political commitment. Meg puts her music and her politics into one place. I was trying to do that, and it mattered a lot to me.

Where is women's music going?

There are as many different kinds of music in women's culture as there is music. Especially as the women's music network grows and more women feel comfortable with that culture, the music will grow. You can't say that women's music is going where I am going. We're all doing different things.

How do you feel when, as at the recent Mexican conference on Chile, you, as a lesbian feminist, meet people you used to work with?

There are many different ways to respect each other. What is disappointing is that when lesbians go to work in movements that involve world or local issues, they

are often forced, even subtly, to stay in the closet. It hurts most of all when you go to work in a coalition and you find that what you represent in the coalition is not important. I am sure that is how people of color have felt. You are there because someone felt you couldn't *not* be there, but you can't be there with your whole self.

Sometimes I will choose not to make lesbianism an issue because at that moment, that is not what the issue is. At other times, I feel adamantly that people have to know who I am, what I am and what I'm doing. They have to deal with that, just like I am dealing with who they are. It is hard to know when to make these choices.

Does this come out in how you program concerts for mixed audiences and for women only audiences?

In the mixed concerts that I'm doing now, and it won't be forever, I am trying to show the process of how I brought culture and politics together in my life. Whether it is the Filipinos, the G.I. movement, the Vietnamese, feminism or lesbianism, I want to acknowledge those movements. I hope that it will help other people understand how change happens. I do this in the women's concerts, too.

The women's concerts for me are a place where there is a kind of safety, a familiarity. This comes from having put life energy into improving the lives of women. It bonds us together. It has to have an effect on the concert because a certain energy comes out of that bonding. It happens too at mixed concerts with people who have worked in the left.

In your concert, you spoke out to women who might be feeling panic stricken in being at their first women-only event. Why do women experience this?

I think it's because we have never been taught to love ourselves as women. I don't think we realize how seldom we've been in a room with just women who are there voluntarily. It's frightening to be in a new situation. And it's frightening to wonder, where is all that energy going to go?

Also, I think women are afraid that choosing to be together sometimes means that they hate men. Some women hate men. Some women don't hate men, they'd just rather be with women. Men are not the issue, woman is the issue.

In one of your early songs, there is an extraordinarily hopeful line: "Americans will change once they know that things are wrong." Do you still feel that?

I have often been accused of being too optimistic. It's true that just knowing things are wrong does not make a revolution. But revolution does start with knowledge; more and more Americans do know that things are wrong but they are suffering from an incredible frustration about what to do.

That song has a very naive flavor to it, but I have to believe that change happens because it happens to me. I have changed, I am constantly changing. I still feel that given the right circumstances, people who one day seem like awful people will turn around and change.

There is always going to be evil, hurt, guilt and negativity, but I have to believe that there is some positive life force in us or I wouldn't have the energy to keep going. I may be proved wrong, but I will not have wasted this life.

Connie McKenna contributed to lyrics for the score of Oscar-nominated *With Babies and Banners: Story of the Women's Emergency Brigade*.

CULTURE SHOCK

BOYS WILL BE BOYS

Two brothers, 13 and 17, in Eastern France decided to "get some Jews" after seeing *Holocaust* on TV. Repeating insults heard in the film, they attacked three teenaged Jewish neighbors with snowballs. The older assailant told the Jewish children's father he wanted to "burn Jews in a hot oven"; the father brought



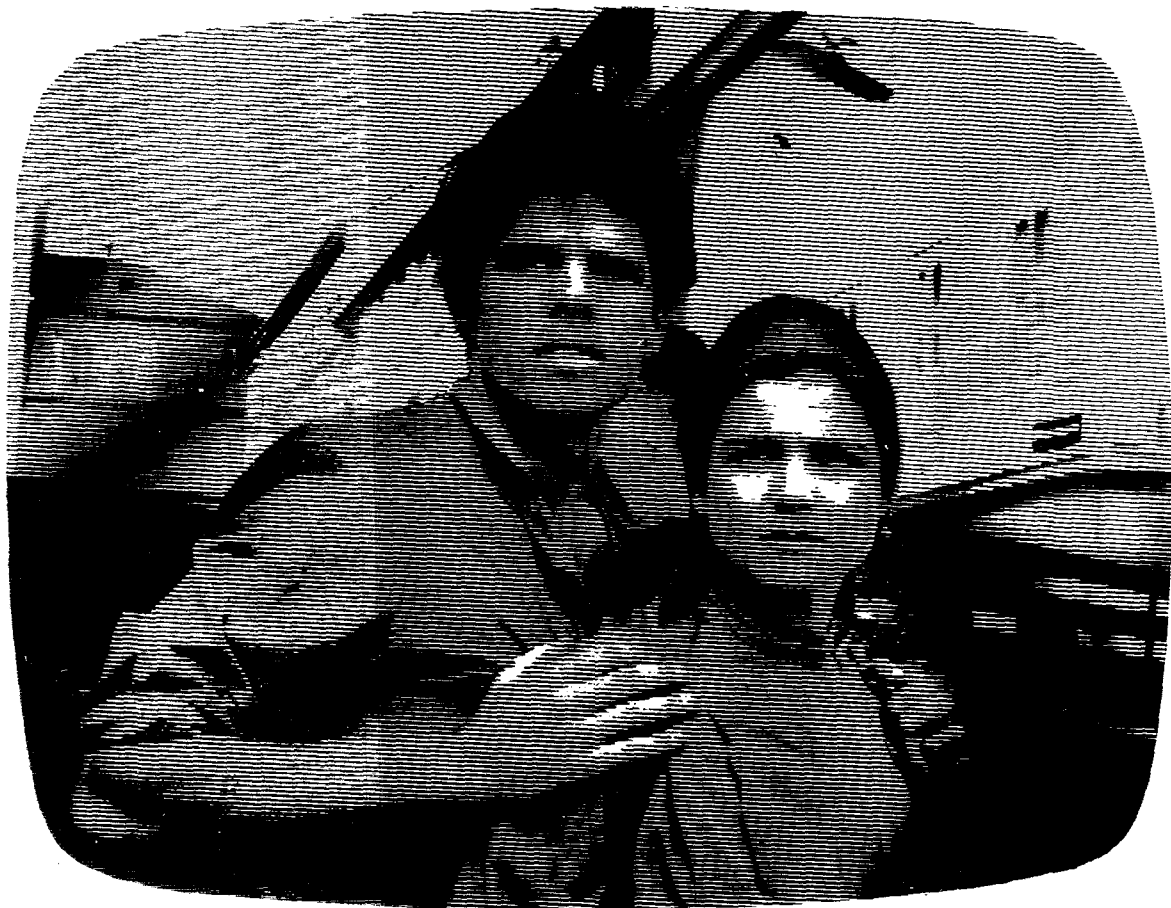
suit for "verbal violence with racist overtones." A local police officer commented dismissively (off the record), "The film is a western, and that's how they took it."

...AND I SAY TO HELL WITH IT

In the case of the *Progressive* article on the hydrogen bomb, the U.S. Attorney describes government excisions in the author's affidavits as "deletions." Says *Progressive* editor Erwin Knoll, "I don't care if the government calls it banana cream pie, it's still censorship."

TELEVISION

Holocaust touches off storm of moral debate



By Theo Blomquist

PARIS

It would be difficult to exaggerate the impact of recent TV showings of *Holocaust* on Western Europe. The storm set off by *Holocaust* was as large as it was unexpected. Related violence was limited to two TV station bombings, apparently authored by neo-Nazis. But discourse and debate raged from living rooms and bars, through the press and into the Bundestag where Chancellor Schmidt gave the series his approval. It provoked, he told West German deputies, "a critical, moral reflection — something most useful this year in view of the fact that each of us has to make a decision regarding the legal prescription problem."

"Prescription" is the repeal of statutes against Nazi war crimes, scheduled to take effect by the end of this year. Parliamentary sentiment is leaning towards opposition to "prescription" and Schmidt himself has co-sponsored a bill to abolish it.

Partisans of the prosecution of war criminals to the end may owe a debt to the controversy set off by *Holocaust* for this new trend. For the popular echo of this show is without precedent: 41 percent of all West German television sets—almost 15 million German families—were tuned in for its last episode. Maren Sell, a German author of the post-war generation, wrote: "Thirty years later, these same Americans who, after the war, had shattered the mirror in which a people should have looked at itself, have put it back in place."

Most of the 30,000 calls that swamped TV switchboards supported *Holocaust's* diffusion. Nevertheless, a remarkable number of callers manifested surprising ignorance and shock before the facts of the program and related commentaries. A poll by *Stern* magazine revealed that 65 percent of the viewers were "shaken"; 42 percent felt shame, and 81 percent found themselves discussing the film with friends and

Many West German viewers were shocked and surprised.

neighbors. *Stern's* director Henry Nannen felt obliged to answer one of the key questions for *Holocaust's* European viewers: Were the German people aware that the final solution was being enacted?

"We could have known if we had wanted to," wrote Nannen. "For a soldier on the Eastern Front, the murder of Jews, the common ditch graves and the mountains of burned corpses could not be hidden.... Yes, I knew about it and I was too much of a coward to rise up in revolt."

While discussions in France may have been less intense than in Germany, repercussions from *Holocaust* became a major event around which endless personalities, reports, expositions and daily conversations have turned.

President Valerie Giscard d'Estaing's prime support grouping, the Union for French Democracy (UDF), expressed fears that, five months before the European elections, "another spectacular account of the Nazi extermination of the Jews might well feed the anti-German campaign here recently hatched by certain anti-Europeans." This elicited a virulent riposte by the "anti-European" French Communist Party and Gaullist RPR. "The champions of a supranational Europe," declared the CPF's *l'Humanite*, "are ready happily to sacrifice the memory of Hitlerism's millions of victims to political calculations." An RPR spokesman drew the conclusion that "the intellectual mechanism that resulted in the crematory ovens still exists."

In a special address to French parents and teachers, Education Minister Christian Beulac called on them to consider carefully *Holocaust's* impact on youth and help give a "major moral and historical lesson" with it. The last episode's screening (March 6) was preceded by an interview with Helmut Schmidt and followed by

a panel discussion. Among those Jewish survivors of Auschwitz on hand to help clarify the details was Health Minister Simone Veil.

Despite good intentions, the clumsily organized presentation glossed over several key issues and left others untouched. Vichy France's lapdog collaboration in 120,000 purely racial deportations is still deemed too hot a subject for popular consumption. Why not finally televise *The Sorrow and the Pity* (1969), Marcel Ophüls' epic documentary on French WWII collaboration and resistance? "France, all entirely 'resistant,' as everyone knows, would strangle itself in a righteous furor," answered Claude Serrault in *Le Monde*. "We should be grateful to have *Holocaust*, which is about Poland, and doesn't touch on the extermination of French Jews," commented one government official.

Danish, French speaking Swiss and Norwegian television initially refused *Holocaust* on principle. "Impregnated with cheap, commercial sentimentalism," said the Danes. Not the proper format for "the evocation of the greatest racial drama in our history," explained the Swiss and on Feb. 23 they broadcast Alain Resnais' devastating documentary, *Night and Fog*, instead. It was not enough. Program directors in all three countries were forced by public pressure to revoke their rejections.

Danish viewers saw the film in early March and today public library WWII shelves there are literally empty. *Holocaust's* showing in Austria fostered a scandal implicating Liberal Party chief Goetz for links to anti-Semitic propaganda. Chancellor Kriesky, who, though Jewish, rarely speaks out in public on such questions, took the occasion to warn against rebirth of anti-Semitism in Europe as his Socialist Party opens its special congress.

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.

ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE

Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning

 11 GRACE AVENUE
 Great Neck, N.Y. 11021
 212-895-7005
 516-466-4642

In These Times' spirit is inviting, not narrowly sectarian. You get a sense of solidity, of facts and ideas in construction combination.

—Gloria Steinem



SUBSCRIBE TODAY

- ☐ Send IN THESE TIMES for 4 trial months. Here's \$8.75.
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of IN THESE TIMES. Here's \$19.00.

Name _____
 Address _____
 City, State _____
 Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

IN THESE TIMES, P.O. Box 228, Westchester, IL 60153

- ☐ Send IN THESE TIMES for 4 trial months. Here's \$8.75.
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of IN THESE TIMES. Here's \$19.00.

Name _____
 Address _____
 City, State _____
 Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

IN THESE TIMES, P.O. Box 228, Westchester, IL 60153

ST 19

- ☐ Send IN THESE TIMES for 4 trial months. Here's \$8.75.
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of IN THESE TIMES. Here's \$19.00.

Name _____
 Address _____
 City, State _____
 Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

IN THESE TIMES, P.O. Box 228, Westchester, IL 60153

ST 19

Short Notice

ROCK

GOT NO BREEDING

Jules and the Polar Bears
(Columbia)

In addition to being stricken with terminal cases of self-pity, many of the "singer-songwriters" of the early '70s couldn't write and rock at the same time. Jules Shear and his band can. Shear pours reams of imaginative, witty lyrics into hard-rocking performances. This debut album features both sterling rock'n'roll songs like "You Just Don't Wanna Know" and nifty lines like "the TV newsman met my face and he shot a bulletin." **bd**

LOVE BEACH

Emerson, Lake and Palmer
(Atlantic)

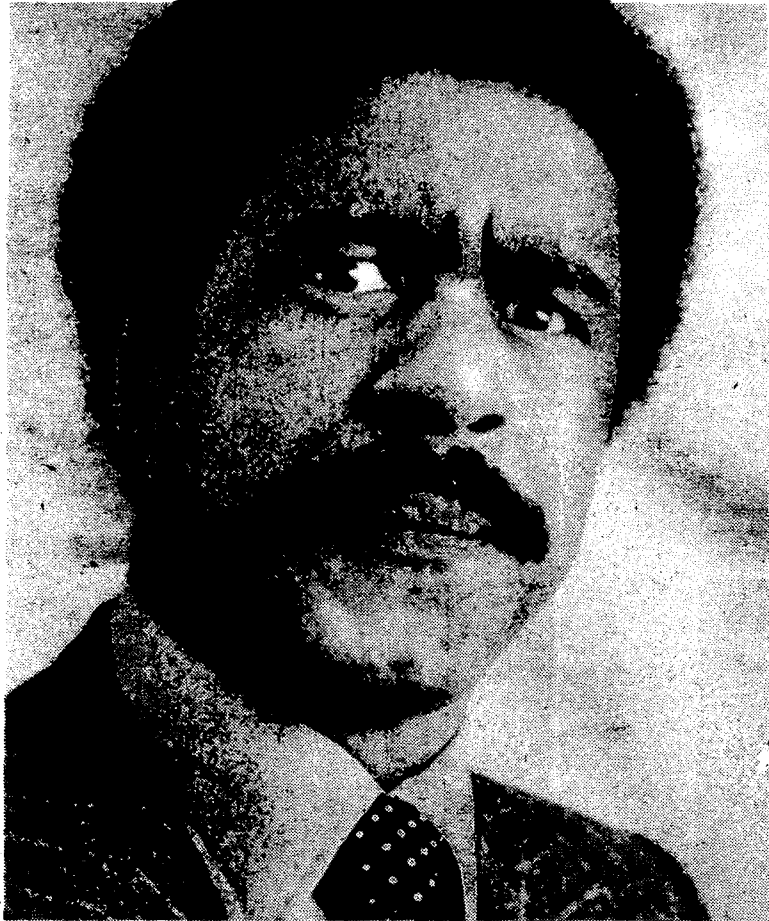
Pretentiousness is one of the banes of rock. These guys have always represented the worst of the misnamed "progressive rock" genre, with overblown arrangements and steals from classical music. ELP even titled one of their albums "Works." Listening to this one is equally laborious. **bd**

COMEDY

WANTED

Richard Pryor (Warner Bros. Records)

As Lily Tomlin once said, when you invite Richard Pryor, you get Richard Pryor—unpredictable, scatological, offensive, and possibly the most brilliant comedian alive. Most of the material on this double album will never be played on the radio because of the Supreme Court's "dirty words" decision. Almost all the routines are hilarious; some, in particular those about black/white and people/animal relations, are stunning. **bd**



Richard Pryor: most brilliant comedian alive?

BOOKS

TEACHING HUMAN DIGNITY: SOCIAL CHANGE LESSONS FOR EVERY-TEACHER

Miriam Wolf-Wasserman and Linda Hutchinson

A collection of firsthand accounts of innovative teaching experiences, including lessons and resource lists covering grade levels from preschool to college, by people who see changing public schools as the best hope for improving the educational system. Several readings concern students', teachers' and parents' efforts to change schools and other institutions. The editors published and distribute the book themselves. 331 pp., \$7.95 paper, **bd**

\$14.95 cloth. Write EEC, P.O. Box 7339, Powderhorn Station, Minneapolis MN 55407. **dw**

LILLIAN ROXON'S ROCK ENCYCLOPEDIA

Compiled by Ed Naha (Grosset & Dunlap, \$8.95)—the only book in rock comparable to Leslie Halliwell's *The Filmgoer's Companion*. This revised and updated edition (Roxon died in 1973) is valuable for a group's chronology—recordings and personnel changes—but weak on performers whose careers have ended, and pays scant attention to reggae, soul, and New Wave music. Its perspective is mainstream and often of dubious value, e.g., "Elton John is a superstar in the truest sense of the word." **bd**

CREATIVE DIFFERENCES: PROFILES OF HOLLYWOOD DISSIDENTS

By David Talbot and Barbara Zheutlin (South End Press, \$5.40)

Sixteen interviews with socially concerned people at several levels of film and video production, conducted by people who spent four years as journalists and political organizers in Hollywood. If the authors sometimes seem uncritical of their subjects, they still provide a useful glimpse behind the screen into working conditions of moviemaking. The sampler approach—one of everyone—makes one want an analysis: what does all this variety and energy mean? **pa**

THE FILMS OF MY LIFE

By Francois Truffaut (Simon and Schuster, \$12.50)

Before he became one of the leading lights of French New Wave, Truffaut was a well-known movie critic. He continues to write about films—his book-length interview with Hitchcock is still the finest book I know—and this collection brings many reviews and essays to English speakers for the first time. **bd**

MOVIES

MARTIN (Libra Films)

A sad, sophisticated film masquerading as a vampire movie from Pittsburgh, by George (Night of the Living Dead) Romero. Martin is a most modern vampire whose average-kid looks and lack of fangs discredit him with old believers; on the other hand, his ordered and traditional violence won't fit in a world of cops, robbers and anomic young housewives. **pa**

GET OUT YOUR HANKER-CHIEFS (Les Films Ariane/CAPAC)

Sly, funny film about men's perceptions of women. Beautiful Carol Laure plays the mute, miserable bourgeois wife, a *tabula rasa* on which her husband's (Gérard Depardieu) and lover's (Pat-

rick Dewaere) expectations are written. Such is their diligence that she comes to life, fulfilling every female stereotype—wife, mother, lover and maid—and demonstrating that all men are children. Director Bertrand Blier (*Femmes Fatales*, *Going Places*) makes vicious fun of movie clichés as well as sexual misunderstanding. **pa**

HARDCORE (Columbia)

Paul Schrader again exercises Calvinist guilt without exorcising it; John Milius only adds mystification. George C. Scott plays a god-the-father from Grand Rapids whose daughter becomes a whore in San Francisco. The film ping-pons pruriently between scrubbed sanctity and decadence without transcending the horror of both. **pa**

THE BRINK'S JOB (Universal)

In 1950 robbers stole a record \$2.7 million from Brink's in Boston, and they almost got away with it. William Friedkin directs this retelling with great attention to detail and none to general tone. Fussy recreation of sets matches quantified Boston working-class diction. Truth (two of the real robbers are doing a promo tour for the film) is more interesting than film. **pa**

THE GREAT TRAIN ROBBERY (United Artists)

Like *Brink's*, the plot is drawn from fact (a precedent-setting 1855 British robbery), and this too ends with public acclaim for crooks; but it rings false. Director Michael (Coma) Crichton also is obsessed with costume and period, and little with the characters. Sean Connery and Donald Sutherland play a *Sting*-like con artist duo, but the couple doesn't charm, partly because Connery stays coolly aloof. Lesley-Anne Down's flashed flesh only confuses things, since she flips between being "third man" and independent hustler. **pa**

Contributors: Bruce Dancis, David Wood, Pat Aufderheide.

CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

CHINA, CAMBODIA AND VIETNAM, a new 50-page essay analyzing China's role in Vietnam and Cambodia and big power relations in Southeast Asia. Written by Anthony Barnett, London-based Fellow of the Transnational Institute, the international program of the Institute for Policy Studies, and author of a forthcoming book on Cambodia. Send \$1 for the essay and 50¢ postage c/o China, TNI/IPS, 1901 Que St., NW, Washington, DC 20009.

WILL CHINA BE AS TOUGH? Vietnam's top military strategist tells how they defeated American troops in HOW WE WON THE WAR by Gen. Giap. Send \$2 plus 50¢ postage & handling to RECON, P.O. Box 14602, Philadelphia, PA 19134.

FOR A FREE CATALOG OF FILMS about nuclear issues that the networks will not cover, contact: GMP Films, P.O. Box 177, Montague, MA 01351, (413) 863-4754.

FREE CATALOG of Distinguished Gifts. Write to G. Speck Enterprises, Dept. 1EZ, 819 Alston Ave., Gulfport, MS 39501.

YOURS IN THE STRUGGLE: REMINISCENCES OF TIM BUCK, edited by William Beeching and Dr. Phyllis Clarke. The fascinating story of Canada's outstanding spokesman of the Left, told in his own words. NC Press. Paper \$9.95, cloth \$20.00, order from: Box 85, Levittown, NY 10756.

ARABESQUE: A bi-monthly journal of Middle Eastern dance, music, and culture. \$10 per yr. (add \$2 if outside the U.S.). Address subscriptions to Ibrahim Farrah, Inc., 1 Sherman Sq., Suite 22-F, New York, NY 10023.

WHY NOT LAUGH? Cultural Correspondence #9 combines radical and feminist jokesters, story-tellers and artists in sex-role humor, workplace jokes, sports jokes, Revolutionary Humor Archives featuring OSCAR AMERINGER. Also TV criticism, Coney Island paintings, 1930s poets interviewed, Kids' Section. 88 pp, \$2/copy, \$7.50/year (quarterly). c/o Dorrwar Bookstore, 224 Thayer St., Providence, RI 02906.

THE LOCKER ROOM IS A GHETTO. New pamphlet proves that discrimination in sports not only continues but is increasing. Facts, no rhetoric. Many stories, anecdotes, etc., involving sports stars who have spoken out on the subject. Even a quiz. Send \$1.50 to Equal Rights Congress, P.O. Box 2488, Loop Station, Chicago, IL 60690. "I was most impressed by it. It does an excellent job."—Dennis Brutus, President of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC). "Tells it like it is"—Bob Dinges, All-American defensive end, at Wyoming.

BANNED IN IRELAND—but available here—"Inside the Irish Republican Army," interviews with Chief-of-Staff Cathal Goulding. Send \$1 plus 25¢ postage to RECON, P.O. Box 14602, Philadelphia, PA 19134.

ARMING THE THIRD WORLD. A new eight-page booklet detailing recent U.S. arms transfers and their impact on human rights in 10 selected countries, including Iran, Nicaragua, South Korea and South Africa. This booklet also contains sections on the largest corporations involved, actions and resources. Available from NARMIC, a project of the American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102 (tel. 215/241-7175). Single copies 15¢ each plus 15¢ postage; \$7 per hundred, plus 20% postage.

EVENTS

RADICAL HISTORY FORUM

March 30

SOCIALISM, FEMINISM AND SEXUALITY:

The 1920s and the 1980s

Blanche Cook

7:30 pm John Jay College
445 W. 59 St., NYC

CONFERENCE ON WOMEN AND SOCIAL JUSTICE—April 7 & 8, Harvard University. See our ad elsewhere in this issue for details, or call 212/260-3270, 617/498-2075, 617/426-9026. Democratic Socialist Organizing Comm., Radcliffe Union of Students.

ECONOMICS FOR ACTIVISTS — Center for Popular Economics offers 1-week institute in economics for activists, in Amherst, Mass., August 1979. Goal is to provide economic analysis and skills useful to activists in labor, tenants',

women's, ecology and other progressive groups. No previous economics training necessary. Teaching staff from U. Mass. Economics Dept. and Labor Center. Choose from 2 sessions: Aug. 5-11, 12-18. Cost including room and board \$110. Some scholarships. Write now to Center for Popular Economics, P.O. Box 785, Dept. I, Amherst, Mass. 01002.

TRY OUT COMMUNAL LIVING. Week-long participation in creating a community; common resources, social systems, government. Summer 1979. Write Communal Living Week. Twin Oaks Community, Louisa, VA 23093.

HELP WANTED

STAFF OPENING—The Washington Peace Center, a local Washington, D.C. organization, has an opening for a National Budget Priorities/Disarmament Program Director. Part-time, long hours, \$50/week starting salary. For more information and application form, write: Washington Peace Center, 2111 Florida Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20008.

MAGAZINE SEEKS STAFF: WIN Magazine seeks two staff for bookkeeping, advertising, promotion and fundraising; editorial and writing responsibilities, too. Experience desirable. Commitment to social change necessary. Low pay, long hours, collective workstyle. Send letter about yourself to WIN Staff Search, 503 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11217. Apply ASAP, preferably by April 1.

EARN \$480.00 WEEKLY stuffing envelopes at home with proven unique mailing program. Guaranteed! Free details: Monterey Place, P.O. Box 33147-TT, Coon Rapids, MN 55433.

SOCIALIST REVIEW is seeking a full-time managing editor. Tasks include developing and coordinating promotional, fundraising and business activities; writing; and editorial work. Closing date for applications is April 1. Write for details: 4228 Telegraph, Oakland, CA 94609.

MUSIC

MUSIC BY MEN AGAINST PATRIARCHY. "Walls to Roses: Songs of Changing Men" by national recording collective on Folkways Records. \$6 from Willie Sordill, 20 Highland Ave., #3, Cambridge, MA 02139.

CORRESPONDENCE WANTED

John Johnson, #39826, Box 1000, Steilacoom, WA 98388.

Thomas Eugene Sims, Box PMB #96038, Atlanta, GA 30315.

James Walter Sanders, 026418, P.O. Box 747, Starke, FL 32091.

M. Chappell, 150-801, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

Duane P. Harris, #138632, Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

CLASSIFIED RATES:
25¢ PER WORD PREPAID

REACTIONS TO ROOTS II



By Lawrence W. Levine

Because *Roots: the Next Generation* encouraged television to abandon, however temporarily, its usual depiction of American blacks as one dimensional, papier-mache figures, it deserves our admiration. Its general sense of historical veracity also merits our applause: rarely have I seen any depiction of Afro-American history in the mass media that was better informed or more accurate in its general contours.

Nevertheless, our appreciation must be tempered by a sense of the series' limitations. In his original volume, Haley claimed that *Roots* was meant to be "the simple story of all black people." In reality, his attempt to be true to the history of his own family led him to describe slavery from the perspective of the house slaves and artisans who lived in much closer proximity to the master class than did the larger number of field hands who enjoyed a greater degree of cultural autonomy. This same perspective dominates the televised extension of the Haley family's history. Consequently, we received only bare glimpses of the problems and perspectives of those millions of blacks who spent the generations following emancipation laboring in the fields, homes, and factories of white America, and who, under the dual stimulus of white exclusion and black pride built and maintained cultural mechanisms that enabled them to guard their values, preserve their sense of worth and retain their sanity.

Roots II extended Haley's excellent illustration of one of the prime vehicles for the perpetuation of black family and kinship ties: family folklore, legends, and those personal historical accounts that folklorists have called "memorates." All of this, however, was pictured from the point of view of middle-class black America. Missing from this account was a sense of the cultural distinctiveness that has marked so much of black America. Although many members of Haley's family spoke of God and religion, we are never allowed into a black church to witness the cultural forms that developed there. We are never allowed to hear black music or see black dance, which were such crucial mechanisms of Afro-American cultural expression. We are never allowed to experience the cathartic ritual of black humor which helped generations of blacks gain a sense of perspective, release their suppressed feelings, and assert themselves in a world designed to reduce them to malleable things.

For all its admirable strengths, then, *Roots II* remains a partial

and therefore a distorted portrayal of black America. The mass media have still not presented us with a compelling and historically accurate picture of the history and lives of the mass of black Americans any more than they have given us such a picture of the lives and history of the mass of white Americans. ■

Lawrence Levine teaches history at the University of California, Berkeley.



By Manning Marable

Over 100 years ago, my great-grandfather, newly freed after the Civil War, left the black belt plantation where he had been a slave. Travelling with his wife and small children, Morris Marable settled in the rocky, upcountry hills in northeastern Alabama. Eventually, he became a prosperous farmer on a small scale, the leader of a struggling black community near Wedowee, Ala.

Whenever he was asked about his life and its meaning, Morris Marable would respond that all he tried to do was to keep his children "out from under the white man's thumb." He and thousands of black farmers like him were struggling for self-determination and economic autonomy apart from the white South's Jim Crow system. He was *not* attempting to integrate within a system that viewed him as a social or genetic inferior. Nor did he try to pattern his family's behavior af-

ter that of his white oppressors.

Roots: The Next Generations is based on that turbulent period of American history that spans the four generations of black families since our collective bondage. It was largely historically accurate and the acting was superior in quality to the first *Roots*.

On balance, however, it must be judged a failure on political rather than aesthetic grounds. The movie was lacking in a clear expression of the political attempts of many blacks to achieve self-determination and racial autonomy.

During the first two segments of the dramatization, we observe the relationship between Sister Carrie (Fay Hauser), a black school teacher, and Jim Warner (Richard Thomas), a member of the town's influential, aristocratic family. Carrie is fundamentally a white woman with a black skin, a cultural casualty of the white educational system. Whether Carrie has ever had a relationship with a black man is anyone's guess. Alex Haley's great-grandfather, Tom Harvey, is confronted with the love affair between his eldest daughter Elizabeth (Debbi Morgan) and a mulatto, John Dolan (Brian Mitchell). Harvey (Georg Stanford Brown) rejects his daughter's suitor on the grounds that he is "too light," too reminiscent of white people. Yet his "best friend" during slavery was white (ironically, his former slave driver) and his friend, Carrie, is "carrying on" with Colonel Warner's son. None of this makes much aesthetic sense, and none of the participants seem to understand the political meaning of it all.

Throughout the narrative, we are treated to the image of the black man who acquiesces in Jim



Did *ROOTS II* represent black women fairly?

Crow, to filthy conditions and lower wages. There is no room for the black nationalist militants of the era—John Bruce, T. Thomas Fortune, Marcus Garvey, Henry M. Turner. When editor Chandler Owens is mentioned, he is denounced by Will Palmer (Stan Shaw), Alex Haley's grandfather, as a "dangerous and unpatriotic radical." The DuBois-Washington controversy is presented as a fundamental conflict between an "Uncle Tom" educator and a black civil rights activist, rather than a disagreement over strategies and tactics to pursue the goal of black self-determination. The NAACP is presented as a respectable organization, but there is little discussion of the important political contributions of the Nation of Islam, SNCC, SCLC and other activist organizations. The viewer is left with the impression that Malcolm X was assassinated by Elijah Muhammad's followers, without exploring the question of CIA-FBI complicity.

Finally, the viewer is confronted with Haley himself. The youthful peccadilloes of Haley with a black prostitute are shown, giving the direct impression that either (a) Haley has a great deal of contempt for black women or (b) black women enjoy giving up sex and getting paid for it. What would old Kizzie say about her great-great-grandson? Finally, when Alex meets and eventually beds a middle-class "assimilated" black woman, Haley (James Earl Jones) allows his white agent to walk into his bedroom while both he and his black love are nude. What does this mean within the context of building meaningful black male-female relationships? Evidently, Haley was seeking not the approval of the ghost of Kunta Kinte, but that of the white man himself, in his own bedroom.

The *Roots* episodes since 1977 have allowed white America to understand the reasons for black anger and rage when confronted by white racism. The series has also given whites a list of "token liberals" with whom they can identify—from the ship captain of Kunta Kinte's vessel, to Jim Harvey, to Simon Haley's patron at the *Saturday Evening Post*. When television finally dismisses even these benevolent characters as victims of racism, and restores to primacy the question of black self-determination in both family and political relations, we shall begin the construction of a truly nonracist society. ■

Manning Marable teaches history at the University of San Francisco. He is an editor of *Soviet Review*.



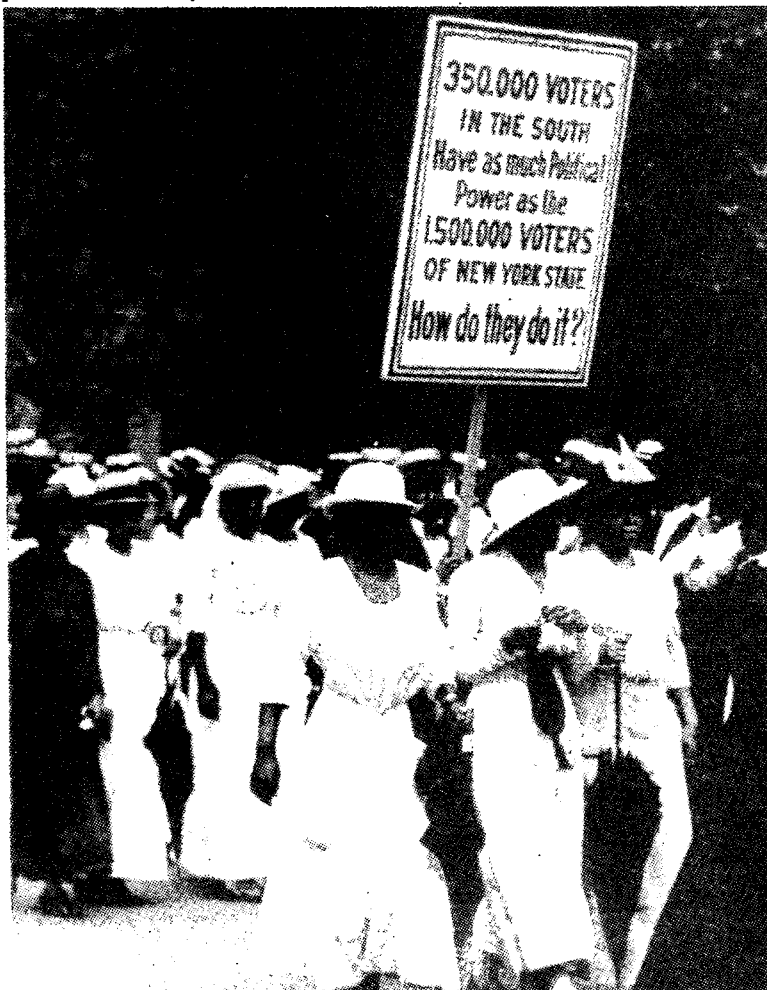
By Eric Foner

In my opinion, *Roots: The Next Generations* was not only far superior to the original television dramatization of *Roots*, but was one of the most significant presentations of American history to appear on the small screen. I say this despite its historical and artistic flaws, some of which have been enumerated in Judith Stein's review (*ITT*, Mar. 7). As she observes, *Roots* gave the Populists a bad deal, ignored the sharecroppers' union, and in general was the story of a very atypical black family. I also objected to the fact that the producers were apparently unable to locate actors with southern accents.

Nonetheless, *Roots II* presented a graphic and highly educational portrait of the many faces of racism in late 19th century and 20th century America. And, while the original *Roots* seriously distorted the history of slavery by suggesting that all blacks save the Haley clan viewed Africa as something strange and alien, *Roots II* consciously moved out into the world of the sharecropper, the black soldier, and the Pullman porter. One should not forget that much of this history is utterly unknown today, despite the explosion of black history in the past decade. In many American history courses, blacks still disappear after Reconstruction, only to reenter the story with the Supreme Court desegregation decision of 1954.

If *Roots I* was imprisoned in the questionable framework of Alex Haley's book, *Roots II* was very much the creation of Ernest Kinoy, who brought to the subject a real sense of history and a deep political commitment. It is largely thanks to him that it was a large step forward in the presentation of blacks on television. *Roots II* represents a validation for a mass audience of many of the insights and interpretations that have evolved among historians in the last generation, but have, unfortunately, too often been confined to the academic world. ■

Eric Foner teaches history at City College, City University of New York.

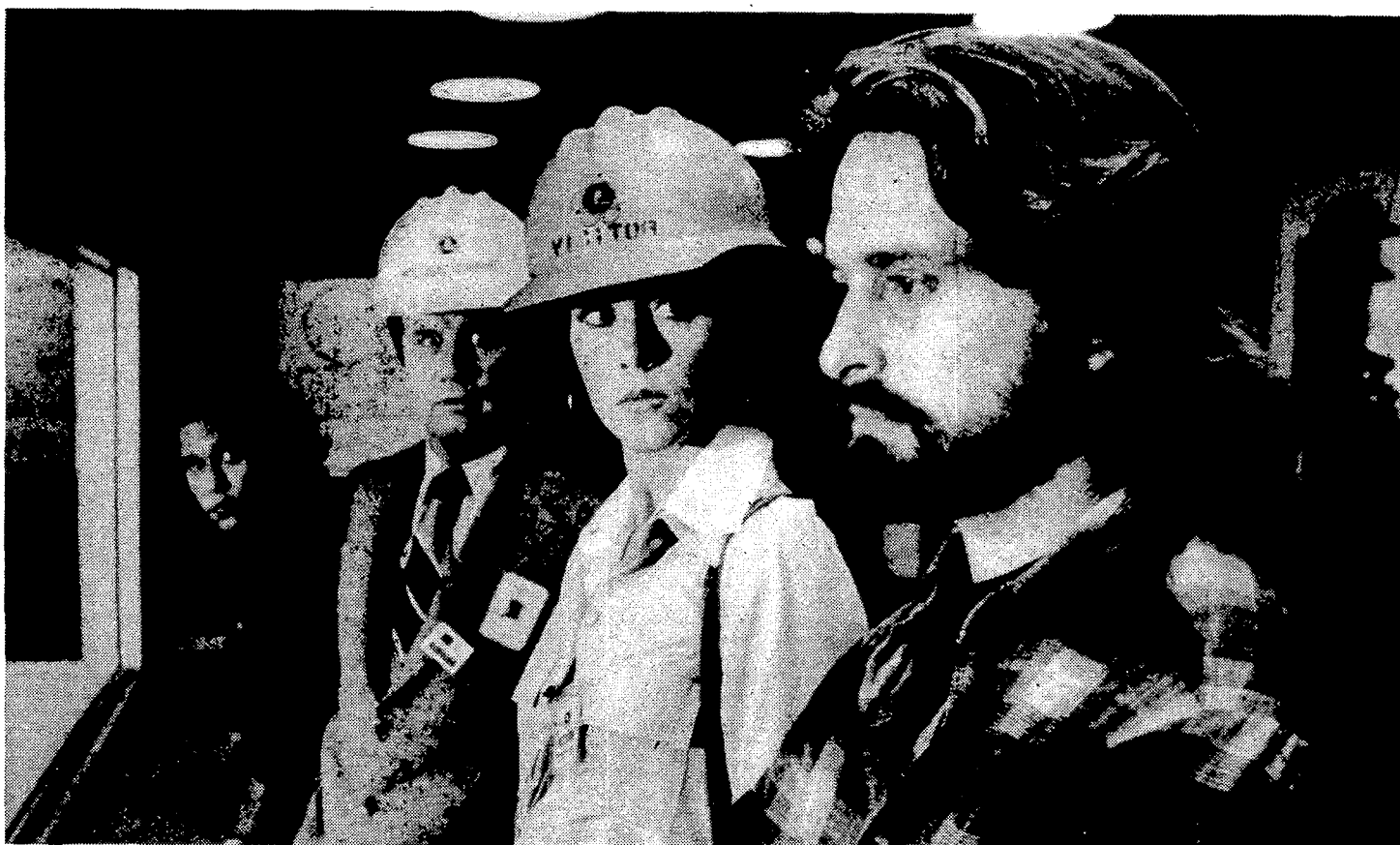


The NAACP (here, marchers in 1917) is one of the few black organizations *ROOTS II* approved of.

CHINA SYNDROME puts the heat on nuclear power with sizzling suspense

HOT CORE

By Pat Aufderheide



TV crew and plant PR man (second from left) watch the control room of a nuclear plant during a near-accident.

"What people don't realize," the Northern States Power exec tolerantly explained to me, "is that a nuclear power plant can't blow up like a bomb."

No, it can't—at least, not the ones we have now. But it can do something almost as good. If the cooling system fails, the nuclear reactor core can unstoppably overheat, melting down through the earth. Once it reaches water, the resulting steam will cause an explosion and spread debris and killing radiation throughout the area.

The exec didn't want to talk about meltdowns.

The China Syndrome (Columbia), a suspense film starring Jane Fonda and Jack Lemmon, is going to make that man and many others in his business apoplectic. It not only talks about meltdowns (a.k.a. the "China syndrome," presuming a core could sink all the way to China), but it makes the dangers of nuclear energy instantly understandable, in a thrill-packed high-adventure format. The energy corporations' push to discredit nuclear protesters as lazy Luddites has just run into a big problem: the facts, expressed in a way that people will love to watch.

The plot tells a story that might have happened, and that could happen at any time. "Soft news" TV reporter Kimberley Wells (Jane Fonda) and an independent crew (Michael Douglas as the cameraman) are filming a "special" hyping nuclear energy at a nuclear power plant when a malfunction nearly causes a meltdown. The camera man captures the event on film, and they skip back to the station.

The station won't touch the film: first the cameraman, then the once-docile girl reporter, and finally the dedicated-to-technology plant supervisor (Jack Lemmon) get involved in an attempt to bring the event to the public attention.

They finally do so, in a dramatic climax complete with a SWAT team invading the plant to prevent an employee from preventing another accident.

This film was a conscious attempt by some of Hollywood's "creative dissidents" to make popular and also socially conscious entertainment. And despite an often-disappointing tradition from such films, which have ranged from the sanctimonious to the shrill, *China Syndrome* suc-

ceeds. It expertly plays with a familiar format. It has ancestors in such near-to-life melodramas as *The Manchurian Candidate*, *Day of the Jackal*, *The Parallax View*, and *Black Sunday*—suspense films that play "what if" history with subjects like sabotage, presidential assassination and terrorism.

The China Syndrome is well researched, and the technical procedures it describes are accurate. From the thumbnail description of how a reactor works, to the way a meltdown happens, the explanations are clear without being simplistic. Three of the film's technical consultants are GE engineers who quit GE over nuclear safety issues. And although their descriptions are selective, they give us what we need.

The film, for instance, does not show a safety mechanism in the cooling system guarding against a meltdown, the Emergency Core Cooling System (ECCS). But then it's not much of a safety mechanism. It failed in the incident that shut down the Brown's Ferry reactor in Alabama, and in mockup tests the device malfunctioned five out of five times. The consultants also chose not to explain differences between light water and breeder reactors; it was in a breeder reactor, the Enrico Fermi, that a partial meltdown has occurred, described in John Fuller's *We Almost Lost Detroit*.

The film reveals other nuclear hazards by showing problems following from the primary near-meltdown accident—radioactivity in water and air; possible plant takeover by insiders; paramilitary control of the plant and waste products; failure of "quality assurance," those safety double-checks of all equipment; and the lack of a safe waste disposal system.

As well as in technical accuracy, the film rings true in character motivation. At the top, profit guides executive decisions. The utility's board chairman explains it has a "billion-dollar investment," the TV manager can't see past ratings. At the lower levels, discipline is simple: if people want their jobs, they do what they're told. Kimberley Wells may get fired if she cannot stop her cameraman from showing the illicit films; a lifelong company man at the plant (Wilford Brimley) can't speak out without losing his job and pension.

And if that won't work, then brutality might. A member of the independent TV crew (Daniel Valdez) is run off the road

while transporting valuable evidence, in a wrenching rerun of the way Karen Silkwood—also carrying anti-nuclear evidence—died. (Agents of Kerr-McGee are suspected in her case, while here goons hired by the sloppy safety consultants do the dirty work.)

We are spared, however, the assumption that profit-mongering is all that stands between the public and information. We also watch the desperate, passionate but technology-bound supervisor become entangled in his own technical language. We see how the sentiment of anti-nuclear demonstrators—holding kids' pictures at the Nuclear Regulatory Commission hearings—is seen by many as mere fuzzy liberalism.

The film portrays very few people as cynical: the chairman of the utility board, the TV station owner, and the plant's chief engineer. The others mostly display good

intent and a will to get by the best way possible. Remarkable acting gives those characters a welcome complexity and depth.

Jack Lemmon, in a sterling characterization, shows us a man who recovers from mortal terror (alternating, during the near-meltdown, between clenched-teeth prayer and a stupefied dead-eyed look) to stand staunchly behind the plant that has become his life's loyalty, only to discover callous disregard for plant safety. Jane Fonda returns, after the narrow range of *California Suite* and *Comes a Horseman*, to a warm, flexible character.

The style is tight, efficient; story, not technique, is the priority. Still, sophisticated techniques communicate information at several levels at once. For instance, the film opens and closes on two side-by-side TV monitors at the station. At the outset, overheard voices describe Kimberley Wells' hair, which she will cut because "she'll do what we tell her to." At the end, one camera shows the newscaster, the other a commercial for microwave ovens, with the same voice overlay praising Wells' investigative reporting. Anyone who sat through the two-TV-screen blip-blop of Godard's *Numero Deux* will be surprised at the easy-reading success of the same technique here.

Syndrome is both good entertainment and good information. How does it manage to leave us shaken, but still hopeful? While never slighting the seriousness of the issues, or the stakes involved, *Syndrome* shows us people who not only can learn and change their minds, but take effective action. We leave the theater knowledgeable—and scared—but heartened by the achievements of the protagonists.

The recent *Variety* review—a highly influential opinion, since *Variety* is the leading trade paper—snidely carped at *China Syndrome*, warning the filmmakers that "Audiences are rarely in the mood for a lecture." But in fact *China Syndrome* chooses the opposite approach: rather than telling, it shows. The example is a terrifying one—the too-close-for-comfort drama leaves no need for moralizing.

A political premiere

With spotlights dotting the skies and police barricades holding back crowds eager to glimpse stars disembarking beneath the theater marquee, the Los Angeles world premiere of *China Syndrome* possessed the excitement of any typical major Hollywood opening. But both the content of the film and the character of the crowd gave this opening night a dimension normally missing when a major motion picture premieres in Tinsel Town.

Jane Fonda insists that the premiere of each of her films also be a fund-raiser for a progressive group she supports. This was also a benefit for the Laurel Springs Educational Center, a non-profit foundation that operates a children's summer camp on Fonda's ranch in the mountains outside Santa Barbara. Laurel Springs also runs an Organizer Training Institute that offers seminars, workshops and intensive training programs in organizing techniques.

Fonda's stature as an actress comingles with her role as key spokesperson for the Campaign for Economic Democracy at these events. More than 900 people paid \$10 to watch the premiere showing of *China Syndrome*, and almost 600 of these paid a total of \$125

to attend a dinner and dance in a tent behind the theater. Politicos mixed with Hollywood stars while a smiling Fonda and husband Tom Hayden held court.

Gov. Jerry Brown was among the guests, having announced earlier that day his appointment of Fonda to the California Council on the Arts. Also attending were Dolores Huerta, vice president of the United Farm Workers Union, John Maher and Mimi Silbert from Delancy Street in San Francisco, Cher, *Syndrome* co-star Jack Lemmon, Jon Voight and Susan St. James.

At the same time, General Electric, a manufacturer of nuclear reactors, announced withdrawal of its sponsorship of a Barbara Walters TV interview with Fonda about the film. Meanwhile, a national public relations campaign by several nuclear firms, to counter expected negative publicity from *China Syndrome* and other soon-to-be-released films, is underway; pro-nuclear packets are being sent to film critics reviewing *China Syndrome*.

"They have every right to withdraw their sponsorship," Fonda told reporters. "But I can't help but wonder, 'What are they afraid of?'"

—Larry Remer